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JOHN HOPE: SCHOLAR AND GENTLEMAN, BY W. E. B. DUBOIS
See page 270

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Vol. 55, No. 9 Whole Number 453

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at 20 West 40th Street, New York* 18, *N. Y., by the Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15 *cents a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and three weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March* 3, 1879.

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

COVER—Sybill Lea, a newcomer from Jamaica, B.W.I., who thinks New York City a very exciting place, is secretary to Dr. Chester W. Chinn.

•

LOREN MILLER, a member of the law firm of Johnson, Miller & Sinclair of Los Angeles, California, is a veteran fighter of racial restrictive covenants. He helped argue the covenant cases (resulting in the May 3 Supreme Court decision) before the U. S. Supreme Court last February. Mr. Miller also represented the defendants in the famous "Sugar Hill" property case in Los Angeles when white neighbors tried to force Negroes out of their newly bought homes in the West Adams Heights section of that city.

•

DR. KARL GUNNAR MYRDAL, a former holder of the Lars Hurta chair of political economy at the University of Stockholm, Sweden, and a former minister of commerce and trade in the Swedish government, 1945-1947, is executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.

At the dinner given in honor of Dr. Myrdal by the "Committee of 100" in the Wedgewood Room of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel on June 2, 1948, the Committee cited the Swedish statesman and scholar "for the great contribution he has made toward the solution of the tragic racial division in our land through his brilliant study *An American Dilemma*."

***An American Dilemma*, now out of print, has been condensed by the author and Arnold Rose under the title of *The Negro in America*. See paragraph review at page 284.**

•

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS, of course, needs no introduction to *Crisis* readers. He now heads the department of special research of the NAACP.

•

E. B. DYKES BEACHY lives in Washington, D. C.

•

DR. HUGH SMYTHE (who reviews *Caste, Class, and Race* at page 280) is research assistant in the department of special research of the NAACP. His wife, DR. MABEL M. SMYTHE (who reviews *Survey of Labor Economics* at page 283), was formerly a teacher of economics at Brooklyn College.

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COLLEGE and SCHOOL NEWS

Dr. Robert P. Daniel, president of SHAW UNIVERSITY, was elected president of the Association of Northern Baptists Educational Institutions at its annual meeting June 24-29 held at Green Lake, Wisconsin. Dr. Daniel, who succeeds Dr. George H. Armacost, president of the University of Redlands, California, is the first Negro to be elected to the office. The ANBEI is composed of 63 institutions, of which 8 are Negro. Dr. Daniel's position also automatically makes him a member of the National Protestant Council on Higher Education.

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was host in July to the following conferences: the third Episcopal Province, July 19-23, with more than 170 delegates in attendance; the sixth summer school for ministers, July 12; the thirteenth annual conference of Vocational Agriculture Teachers, July 12-16; and the library conference, July 8-9.

Rev. Merrill D. Booker, associate supervisor of clinical work at Freedman's and Gallinger hospitals, Washington, D. C., spoke in July to a general assembly of the college on his work in clinical psychology.

Thomas F. Freeman, who holds an A. B. degree, Magna Cum Laude, from VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY, was recipient in March of the Ph. D. degree in specialized preaching from the divinity school of the University of Chicago. In the 56-year history of the school, this is the first time that a Ph. D. has been conferred in the field of preaching, and is reputed to be the only doctorate in this specific field in the country. Dr. Freeman's thesis was "A Study in the Criteria of Effective Preaching Through an Analysis of the Preaching of Phillips Brooks." Dr. Freeman is a native of Richmond, Virginia.

Lonnie A. Marshall was awarded a degree in mechanical engineering by OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY in June.

The UNIVERSITY OF DENVER awarded B. A. degrees to Madge Brown, David Finley, Frances Hale, Frances Moore, and Donald Todd; the B. F. A. to Elizabeth Harrison, Leon Leonard, and George Williams; the M. A. to Lester Thomas; and a B. S. in business administration to Arthur Brooks.

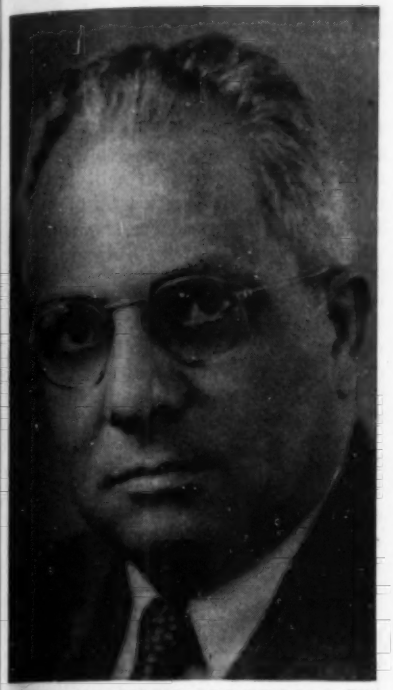
THOMAS F. FREEMAN
Ph. D.
University of Chicago

The ATLANTA UNIVERSITY summer school reports 1,734 men and women enrolled during the summer session. Of this number 920 were graduate and professional students, and 814 undergraduates. Two hundred and seventy-three of the undergraduates were former service men, and 137 of the graduates were listed as veterans.

Among speakers who addressed various meetings of the summer session were James C. Evans, advisor to the Secretary of Defense; Rev. Isaah J. Domas, a member of the university faculty; James L. Barfoot, a former member of the faculty of the university of Georgia; and M. B. Tolson, who was feted as poet laureate of Liberia.

After five weeks of play production in which the season's bill ran the gamut from modern drama to Greek, the Atlanta summer theatre closed with Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*. All performances were given in the Little Theatre on the campus of Spelman college and attracted wide interest.

In his initial address on July 9 to the students and faculty of TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY, president R. O'Hara Lanier stated that he was deeply appreciative to the board of directors of the university and to the State of Texas for the opportunity of serving the in-



NEW DEAN OF ADMINISTRATION *at Wilberforce State College, Dr. Howard H. Long, was formerly assistant superintendent of schools in Washington, D. C.*

stitution. All efforts of the school, he said, must be directed to developing the latent abilities of the students so that they might in turn serve their respective communities.

Alma E. Gault, director of nursing education at MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE, reports that "Hubbard Hospital will remain open and the indications are that a greater variety of patients will be served than previously."

According to an announcement by Dean Earl E. Dawson of the college of arts and sciences, LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.), as of July 1, has been designated as a teacher training agency for vocational teachers of home economics, agriculture and industrial arts. The program will be initiated with the 1948-49 fall term.

Edith L. Massey, a 1946 graduate in journalism from Lincoln, is now serving as civilian secretary attached to the Korean base command, affiliated with the Korean army of occupation.

GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE sponsored a summer-school workshop for in-service teachers of the local community at the T. J. Elder high school, Sandersville, June-August 21.

James E. Parker has been added to the college staff as a visiting professor in physical science and mathematics

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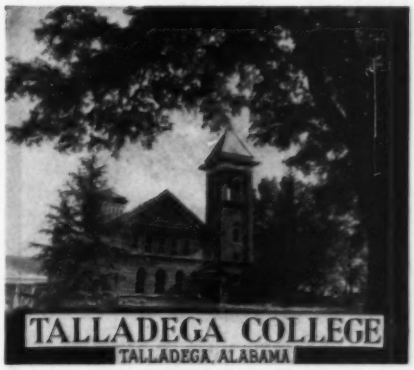

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and as director of the audio-visual aid center.

TUFTS COLLEGE awarded B. S. degrees to Furman Madison Jones and Vernon Maurice Jones.

At BROWN UNIVERSITY, Marjorie Stephens, Maye Williamson and George Lima received A. B. degrees; and George Bland, a B. S. in engineering.

TEXAS COLLEGE is undertaking a one million-dollar improvement and expansion program, with the erection of two new buildings and four others now under construction, among which are a $250,000 library, a new mens' dormitory, and a new dining hall.

DEPAUW UNIVERSITY granted an A. B. degree to Robert Randolph.

The graduate record office examination was held at WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE August 2-3. These examinations are widely used by graduate schools in evaluating candidates seeking admission and by some school systems in rating teachers seeking job placement.

Three members of the college staff have received scholarships for graduate study next year: Sophie Nelson of the department of English will study at the University of Pittsburgh on a Rosenwald grant, where she will complete research on a bibliography of Shelley; Roscoe Brown of the department of physical education also on a Rosenwald grant, at New York university; and Robert L. Bailey of the department of agriculture on a General Education Board fellowship at the Iowa State College.

The college bulletin for August features "Educating for Community Participation," edited by Harry W. Greene, a thoughtful study outlining the relation of West Virginia State to its community.

Dr. Howard H. Long, formerly assistant superintendent of schools, Wash-

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ington, D. C., has been added to the staff of the COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS (Wilberforce) as dean of administration. The college officials regard his appointment as one indication of the progressive future which the state college is planning in the field of collegiate education.

The college was host August 5-8 to the National YMCA Conference of Laymen and Secretaries and on July 23 to the conference on Light Building Construction Industry.

The roster of speakers and discussion leaders for the National YMCA Conference included Dr. Charles H. Wesley; Dr. Frank T. Wilson, dean of men, Lincoln University, (Pa.); Dr. Ira De A. Reid, director of the department of social science, Atlanta university; P. L. Prattis, executive of the *Pittsburgh Courier;* Dr. Milton D. Stewart, professor of social science, New School of Social Research; and Warren R. Cochrane, Atlanta, Georgia, executive secretary of the Butler street YMCA.

A religious emphasis period was observed at the college July 9-11, under the direction of Rev. George O. Wright, college pastor.

President Wesley has announced that bids for the construction of a new science building for the college were received and opened on July 14. The plans call for the erection of a building to cost $400,000, and a grant toward this end, $250,000, has been made by the 96th general assembly.

At OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY the college YMCA has shown that integration can work if given a chance. Its program includes representatives of all races and religions.

At the 103rd annual commencement exercises of KNOX COLLEGE, Galesburg, Ill., S. Tanner Stafford, superintendent of Flint-Goodridge hospital, was voted the annual achievement award. Mr. Stafford holds membership in the American College of Hospital Administrators, the American Hospital Association, and the Hospital Council of New Orleans.

Forty-fifth annual convention of the AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION was held in Atlantic City, N. J., July 25-28. Among the speakers were Dr. Channing H. Tobias, of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; Dr. D. O. W. Holmes, president-emeritus of Morgan State; Dr. Idabelle Yeiser, of Philadelphia; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk university; and Joseph Albright, special assistant to the administrator of the Office of Veterans Affairs. The convention theme was "Teachers and Children in America's Crisis."

The PEPSI-COLA SCHOLARSHIP BOARD announces its fifth consecutive Pepsi-Cola scholarship program under which Negro high school graduates will receive eighteen four-year college scholarships and approximately fifty-three college entrance prizes of $50 each. In those states which do not have separate school systems, Negro and white students will compete for 101 identical scholarships.

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Editorials

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS IS FIRST

THE University of Arkansas became the first institution in the Deep South states to admit Negro students to regular classes in its graduate schools when on August 24 it announced that beginning in September it would have in its freshman medical class Miss Edith Mae Irby of Hot Springs. According to Dr. H. Clay Chenault, the university's vice president in charge of medical education and hospitals, Miss Irby "will be a part of her class, just like any other member—without segregation."

It was announced at the same time that Miss Irby, 20, and a graduate of Knoxville College in Tennessee, was 28th in an aptitude test given to determine the 90 students who would make up the freshman class.

And so it is Arkansas—and not "liberal" North Carolina, or "aristocratic" Virginia, or "individualistic" Texas—that is first to step forward and admit Negro students to its tax-supported colleges for professional and graduate training. It is Arkansas which admits that the system of exclusion and denial is unfair to both Negroes and southern communities and acts to correct the inequality. It is Arkansas (unlike stubborn Oklahoma) which recognizes the validity of the U. S. Supreme Court's opinions in recent cases and acts to uphold the Constitution. The entire state officialdom rates a salute on this forward move because it could not have been made without substantial agreement of everyone concerned from the Governor on down through the courts, the legislators, board of regents, and faculty.

Arkansas has pointed the way for the other states. Edith Irby has shown what they can expect in the way of applicants. Give the Negroes the same tests, rate them fairly as others are rated, and take the ones that can make the grade. The Negro applicant asks no special favors; he asks only a chance to compete on equal terms.

Thirteen years ago Donald Gaines Murray was admitted to the law school of the University of Maryland as a result of a more or less friendly law suit handled by the NAACP. Nothing has happened in Maryland except that Negroes are now a common and unnoticed sight in the law school where some of them have made brilliant records.

About ten years ago the University of West Virginia admitted Negroes, without publicity, to its graduate schools and nothing has happened. The University of Delaware announced last winter that it would henceforth admit Negro students to its graduate schools without segregation. In none of these instances has there been the slightest friction.

The Arkansas action means that in ten years Negro students will be enrolled in most, if not all, the graduate and professional schools of state institutions in the Deep South. If Texas would live up to its reputation for independence and cease sheepishly following the traditions of smaller and weaker men, it would give a cowboy whoop next week and announce the admission of Negro graduate students. The white students are ready for it, but only the "old folks" in Arkansas have caught step with the times.

GREAT DAY IN SOUTH CAROLINA

PRIMARY election day, August 10, 1948, was a great day for Negro citizens of South Carolina; indeed, for its white citizens as well. For on that day more than 30,000 Negroes voted in the Democratic primary for the first time since the Reconstruction period.

The voting took place under a court order issued by Judge J. Waties Waring of the Federal court, who is a Democrat and a native South Carolinian. Judge Waring in mid-July granted an injunction against most of the Democratic party chairmen in the state, restraining them from interfering with the registration and voting of Negroes. Moreover, Judge Waring ordered the poll books to be kept open until July 31 for the registration of Negroes.

On August 10 colored citizens voted with practically no friction of any kind. Only one formal charge of assault has been brought to date. Thus, another step forward has been taken in the long, long fight for the right to vote. All is not sweetness and love and light in South Carolina, but the state is on its way. Even the die-hards recognize that the Negro cannot be kept from voting; the devices now being tried are admittedly rear-guard actions, delaying tactics. With South Carolina cracked wide open, only Mississippi remains as a mean obstacle. Alabama has her Boswell amendment to hamstring registration. Georgia is whistling in the dark about separate ballot boxes, but there is no longer any argument about whether Negroes will vote.

Credit for the South Carolina victory must go first to the stalwart Negro citizens of that state who have never ceased the fight for the ballot; second to Judge Waring who upheld the law and ruled fearlessly and fairly for the right; and third to Thurgood Marshall and his NAACP legal staff who carried on the brilliant legal battle in the courts. Fighting for the ballot is an old story to the NAACP which won its first legal skirmish in 1915, and the South Carolina case illustrates once more the value of such an organization that can carry forward a *continuing* campaign over the years.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S ORDERS

ON July 26 President Truman issued two executive orders, one directing the establishment of fair employment practices for government employes, and another forbidding discrimination in the armed services. Because the latter did not mention segregation, Mr. Truman was questioned upon it at his White House press conference July 29 and he then emphasized that he expected all segregation of races in the armed services to be abolished eventually, and that his order had that in mind.

In a subsequent conference Senator J. Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, convinced A. Philip Randolph, leader of the civil disobedience campaign against jim-crow military service, that Mr. Truman meant what he said. Randolph and his assistant, Grant Reynolds, thereupon announced that they were abandoning their campaign.

Mr. Truman's opponents are crying that his moves in the civil rights field are purely political. In an election year when even a lifted eyebrow is subject to political interpretation this charge was to be expected. But no one has explained just how a man fighting to win the greatest prize, the highest office in America, can be insincere when he stubbornly and stoutly insists on a civil rights program that everyone knows is dynamite—and death—to political ambitions in this country.

Mr. Truman has not retreated one inch from the declarations in his Lincoln Memorial speech of June, 1947. His new orders represent a spirit and a courage on these issues as refreshing as they are rare. A standard has been set for government administrators of the present and the future.

Supreme Court Covenant Decision—An Analysis

By Loren Miller

The Supreme Court decision of May 3 outlawing racial restrictive covenants is only a tool for attack on the evil, since laws and court decisions do not solve social problems. The job ahead is here outlined by one of the NAACP lawyers who argued the covenant cases before the Court

WHILE it is hard to overestimate the importance of the United States Supreme Court decision of May 3 forbidding further court enforcement of race restrictive covenants, it is easy to overestimate its immediate effect on residential segregation. Its importance lies in the fact that the last legal prop has been knocked from under the ghetto. But laws and court decisions do not solve social problems; they merely set limits within which those problems may be tackled and ultimately solved. It is up to us to give effect to the decision and, by giving it effect, to do away with residential segregation. That job would not be an easy one even if all Americans were inclined to accept the spirit of the Supreme Court ruling. State courts have been enforcing racial covenants since 1915; banks and financial institutions have been demanding their insertion in deeds for an even longer period and the federal government, through FHA, openly advocated them from 1933 to 1947. Thus stimulated, a goodly number of people accepted residential segregation as compatible with the democratic way of life and as consonant with our constitutional system. It would take some time to reverse those attitudes under the best of circumstances.

But circumstances are not the best. Realty boards, financial institutions, and professional hucksters of prejudice are hard at work trying to find ways and means of circumventing the decision. The *United States Week* devoted three pages of its May 14 issue to suggestions as to how the ghetto may be maintained. The suggestions ranged all the way from open advocacy of gentlemen's agreements to the snide observation that "harassment" by police had been found "effective" in keeping Negroes out of restricted communities. The expected crank notes have popped up in various cities. This flurry of activity at once suggests that a sizeable job remains to be done. The magnitude of that job can be best understood by examining the decision to determine its real import.

Question Before Court

The question before the Supreme Court was a simple one: may courts, state or federal, issue injunctions, or other orders, enforcing agreements designed to prevent the sale to or occupancy of property by Negroes or other proscribed persons? The answer was a resounding "No." Chief Justice Vinson, speaking for a unanimous Court, said that he and his colleagues had reached the conclusion "that in these cases the States have acted to deny [Negroes] equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment." What the Fourteenth Amendment says is that "No State shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protections of the laws."

Proponents of racial covenants had always argued that the Fourteenth Amendment did not forbid court enforcement of such agreements because, they said, racial restrictive covenants were private agreements entered into by private persons respecting their private property. They pointed to a series of decisions holding that the Amendment did not prevent private persons from discriminating and was operative only when the state attempted to discriminate on racial grounds. They claimed that when courts issued injunctions to enforce these private agreements the discrimination that was worked was not done by the state but by individuals. Besides, they said, such agreements weren't discriminatory in any event because Negroes had the same right to enter into them against white persons. The Supreme Court took the common sense view that when a state court issued an injunction preventing a person from occupying or buying property its action was that of the state.

The "Amendment," it said, is not "ineffective simply because the particular pattern of discrimination, which the State has enforced, was defined initially by the terms of a private agreement. State action, as that phase is understood for the purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment, refers to exertions of state power in all its forms." As for the argument that Negroes are equally free to discriminate against white persons, the Court remarked: "It is no answer . . . to say that the courts may also be induced to deny white persons rights of ownership and occupancy on grounds of race or color. Equal protection of the laws is not achieved through indiscriminate imposition of inequalities." The rights to own, use and enjoy property, the Court said, "are civil rights intended to be protected from discriminatory state action by the Fourteenth Amendment."

There can be no doubt now that courts cannot enforce race restrictive agreements. Since racial zoning was banned by the Supreme Court in 1917, it is clear that any person may buy land anywhere and that he may occupy any property that he buys. Conversely, it is equally clear that any owner may sell or rent his land to whomever he chooses. Even proponents of resi-

dential segregation admit these facts. They pin their hopes for maintaining the ghetto on another aspect of the decision. In the course of the opinion, Chief Justice Vinson said: "We conclude, therefore, that the restrictive agreements standing alone cannot be regarded as a violation of any rights guaranteed to petitioners by the Fourteenth Amendment. So long as the purpose of those agreements are effectuated by voluntary adherence to their terms, it would appear clear that there has been no action by the State and the provisions of the Amendment have not been violated."

Way Still Open

Thus the Court has left the way open to property owners to enter into racial covenants and to observe them if they wish to do so. Plenty of people will wish to do just that, but past experience has proved that many people who enter into such agreements change their minds. If they do have a change of mind, or heart, the courts cannot bind them to their agreements. The drive for large scale signing of, and adherence to, these voluntary agreements is already under way in most cities. That campaign can be met only by an equally determined educational campaign designed to explode the myth that Negro occupancy lowers property values and to demonstrate that racial discrimination in ownership or occupancy of property runs counter to democratic practices and religious ethics. Obviously, churches, labor unions and democratically minded civic and community groups must be enlisted in the campaign as quickly as possible.

Other evasive proposals contemplate formation of neighborhood clubs and corporations to exercise a veto power over the transfer or rental of property. There will be numerous variants of these schemes and many of them will have to be subjected to court tests. As always, litigation will require funds for payment of court costs and employment of legal talent. The threat of suits for damages against violators of racial agreements is also being bandied about; and while it seems plain that such suits are impermissable, it is extremely likely that many persons will be dissuaded from selling or renting their property out of fear of litigation. Here again funds must be made available to protect willing sellers. Violence against and police harassment of Negro buyers are bound to crop up and law enforcement authorities may have to be prodded into doing their duty.

FHA Policy

As yet FHA has given no indication that it will change its policy of tacit encouragement of racial restrictions or that it will refuse to insure loans where such agreements are imposed, out of the hope of maintaining voluntary adherence. Because of its importance in the mortgage field, FHA must effect these reforms. It may be that the decision is broad enough to deter it from all such action or it may be that a new attack will have to be fashioned. In either event a big job lies ahead. Under urban redevelopment laws, various states are granting tax rebates and other inducements to private corporations to enlist them in large scale home construction. At the moment, these corporations are taking advantage of these grants of state power to construct private housing developments closed to Negro occupancy. That issue must be met, too, if the ghetto is to be vanquished.

To sum up, the Supreme Court decision will not have the desired effect on residential segregation without a sustained and vigorous effort that is going to take time and that will cost plenty in terms of dollars and cents as well as in social action.

If the task that lies ahead seems formidable and forbidding, it is well to look back only a few years and to remember that the prospect for a Supreme Court decision banning judicial enforcement of racial covenants was pretty dim only five years ago. Beginning with Louisiana in 1915, appellate courts in sixteen states and the District of Columbia had held that courts did not violate constitutional guarantees by enjoining sale or occupancy of property on racial grounds. Included in that list of states were California, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Colorado, Wisconsin and Kansas, to list some of the more "liberal" jurisdictions. The United States Supreme Court itself had indicated that judicial enforcement of such agreements was permissable in a 1926 decision that was extinguished on technical grounds in the May 3 opinion. It had steadfastly refused to depart from that stand a half dozen times between 1926 and 1944.

The reversal in judicial attitude was not accomplished, as some newspapers seem to believe, merely because Attorney General Tom Clark filed an excellent brief attacking racial covenants or because Solicitor General Perlman presented an able argument to the same effect in the January hearing before the Supreme Court. Nor did victory come simply because two dozen organizations of diverse kinds filed briefs urging the result that finally emerged.

As a matter of fact the concerted attack, evidenced by the action of the attorney general and the filing of the unprecedented number of briefs in the Supreme Court, was the end result of a long and tireless campaign spearheaded by the NAACP. That campaign was waged in state courts, in newspapers, in magazines, over the air and wherever else a hearing could be had. All kinds of people contributed to it from its beginning in 1917, when segregation ordinances were outlawed; and it waxed and waned through the years, with circumstances at times favorable and at others unfavorable.

Urban Migration

World War II brought a large number of Negro war workers to urban areas and as they sought homes the number of racial covenant cases increased. When a long series of unfavorable state court decisions was climaxed by the refusal of the United States Supreme Court to review a District of Columbia decision in 1944, the NAACP called a meeting of its legal committee in Chicago. The efficacy of the legal strategy outlined there may be judged by the fact that the Supreme Court decision is a paraphrase of the position the lawyers agreed to urge in all such cases. In addition, the NAACP set out to wage a battle for the support of public opinion and the flood of briefs that was filed in support of its arguments is indicative of the soundness of that move. All of this is not to say that many lawyers would not have come to the view finally adopted by the Supreme Court without the urging of the NAACP or that the Association was solely responsible for the public opinion generated against racial covenants.

The very times themselves bred an increasing awareness of the incongruity of ghettos in a democracy. However, social reform is never effected without organization and direction of the sentiment favoring that change. The NAACP climaxed that work by the direct presentation of one of the three cases decided by the Supreme Court and by coordinating the efforts of the lawyers and consultants who participated in preparation of briefs and arguments in all of the cases.

Every brief that was filed in the Supreme Court (those of the attorney general, the CIO, AF of L, American Veterans Committee, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, Japanese-American Citizens League, American Indian Congress, American Association for United Nations, Elks and Council of Protestant Churches of New York, to list some of them) stressed the

(Continued on page 285)

The American Paradox*

By Gunnar Myrdal

I WILL talk about America, American democracy, and why I believe in it so firmly as a great promise of gradual growth in perfection and in happines to its own multitude of millions of people and to the world. I will speak in a personal way. I will give to my speech the form of a testimony of a stranger and a foreigner, who came to your shores and who has remained an alien according to citizenship and passport formalities, but who got deeper and deeper involved in your grave problems and your heroic aspirations.

I was invited to become an expert on the imperfections of American democracy, and I believe that I acquired a more comprehensive and intensive insight into everything which is faulty, bad and wrong in America than is available to, perhaps, any outsider in this generation. Indeed, very much is exceedingly bad and wrong in this country. My study was continuously dragging me through the evidences of large-scale, systematic lawbreaking, crime and corruption, poverty and distress, heartlessness and ignorance, frictions, worries and shortcomings of all sorts. But the deeper I went into my research about the failures of American democracy, the more condemning the broad conclusions in my study were marshalled under the proper categories, the more sincerely did I come to love and admire your country and the more earnestly hopeful did I become of its great and glorious future.

How do I explain to myself this apparent contradiction, this paradox. Why do I love and admire a country with so many glaring defects, which I have studied to the bottom?

Experience Not Unique

But before I proceed to answer this question let me point out that in this respect my experience is not at all unique. It is a commonly known fact—also recorded in my study and supported by detailed evidence—that the Negro people of America which in their daily living themselves experience by their bodies and their souls all the wrongs and the injustices inflicted upon them, and who are crying bitterly, protesting more and more vigorously, and fighting against all odds, that they as a group are the most loyal citizens of this country and that they are deeply identifying themselves with its destiny and its aspirations. America has kept its Negro citizens, first in slavery, and thereafter in a subjugated caste for generations. And, nevertheless, America has been able to count upon their unreserved loyalty and devotion. How has this been possible?

"Real are all the gross imperfections of American democracy. But real are also the high aspirations of the American nation . . ." The author of* An American Dilemma *hereafter explains the paradox

I think the answer is what has sometimes been called that "moral overstrain" of the American nation, this fact that the Negro problem in America really is a "problem" within the entire nation which is constantly held on its agenda. The answer is this psychological, political, and moral situation here which I called "an American dilemma." Real are all the gross imperfections of American democracy. But real are also the high aspirations of the American nation, the uncompromising ideals of their American democratic creed, with its deep roots in the liberal, rational, humanitarian philosophy of the period of Enlightenment when the young nation received its national consciousness and its political structure, the Christian religion, and the northern ideas of a society ruled by laws and not by men, laws under which all are equals, these last set of ideas transferred via the influence of English law.

America believes in and aspires to something so much higher than its plane of actual living. The ideals are constantly pressing for their more perfect realization. You have written them into your constitutions and your laws, your courts are citing them, your churches are preaching them, your schools are teaching them, your radios and your newspapers and all your public speakers are popularizing them.

America could never think of giving the caste system the public sanction of the law. Even the southern segregation laws are based upon the fiction of equality. When the Negroes are fighting for their rights they have, therefore, a most powerful tool in their hands: the glorious American ideals of democracy, liberty and equality, to which the nation is pledged, not only by its political Constitution, but also by the sincere devotion of its citizens.

Why Negroes Gain

This is the deeper reason why the Negroes are constantly gaining. They have always many of the best whites fighting with them. They can fight wholeheartedly while their adversaries have a split personality. They have not only the law but the national creed on their side. It should never be forgotten that this creed to an extent has all America in its spell. This is the unity of the American culture. Even a poor and uneducated white person in some isolated and backward rural region in the deep South, who is violently prejudiced against the Negro and intent upon depriving him of civic rights and human independence, has also a whole compartment in his soul housing the entire American creed of liberty, equality, justice, and fair opportunity for everyone. He is actually also a good Christian and honestly devoted to the ideals of human brotherhood and the Golden Rule. And these ideals are, to some extent, also effective in shaping his

*An address delivered by Gunner Myrdal at a dinner given in his honor by the "Committee of 100" at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City on June 2, 1948.

behavior. Indeed, it would be impossible to understand why the Negro does not fare worse in some regions of America if this were not kept in mind. It would be still more impossible to explain why in spite of all the popular prejudices the Negro people, are constantly improving their status.

America is by far not yet a democracy. But the democratic ideals are nevertheless a most important part of social reality in America. They are determining the trend. There are periods of reaction in American history, there are regions of the country and groups in the nation who more consistently work for reaction and against the democratization of American society. But taking the broad, historical view, the democratic ideals of America are constantly asserting themselves. The statesmen and leaders who have gone down in your history as national heroes have not been the reactionary demagogues, not even gifted conservative statesmen, who attempted to moderate the development towards ever more democracy. No, they have all been struggling liberals, they have been those who fought most courageously and effectively for liberty and equality.

The relative unanimity around, and the uncompromising explicitness of the democratic creed is, to my mind, the great wonder of America. By the logic of the unique American history it has developed that the rich and secure, out of pride and conservatism, and the poor and insecure, out of dire need, have come to profess the identical social ideals. This spiritual convergence more than America's immense material resources is what makes this nation great and what promises it a still greater future. Behind it all is the historical reality which made it possible for your great president, Franklin Roosevelt, to appeal to all in the nation in this way: "Let us not forget that we are all descendants from revolutionaries and poor immigrants."

The glaring disparity between, on the one hand, the high and uncompromising ideals adhered to in a sense by the entire nation and, on the other hand, the very spotted reality causes Americans and foreigners to accuse America of hypocrisy, but this nation is not hypocritical in the ordinary sense of the word. It is the least cynical of all nations. It confesses its sins to the entire world and labors persistently with its moral problems. And here again it is the glory of America that it has a national conscience and that it does not get peace with its conscience before it has entirely reformed itself. It is a great American tradition to welcome criticism, even from abroad, if you feel that the criticism is not inspired by bad will but grows out of anxiety for the same basic values which are your own. This is a singularly American trait. It has been made possible by the sense of security you have felt, protected and isolated behind the two big oceans. But, more basically, it springs out of the rationalism and optimism contained in your moralism; you are convinced that the good cause will win, that the truth will prevail.

Acme

DR. KARL GUNNAR MYRDAL, *author of* An American Dilemma, *is at present executive secretary of the Economic Commission of Europe, a division of UN.*

American Moralism

In a minor way, the very initiation of the study of the American Negro problem, which I was once invited to undertake by one of your great national humanitarian institutions, shows a new demonstration of American "bad conscience" in this sense; that is, American moralism, rationalism, radicalism, and optimism. Only in a nation dedicated to the democratic ideals and convinced of its own basic soundness and strength, could it have occurred that a foreigner, a man from a far away country entirely spared from race problems, a social scientist who, if anything, was certainly not known for a willingness to pass over and conceal uncomfortable facts, should be asked to come over and review this most serious national problem. And the study was continued after the outbreak of the Second World War, which, of course, made the problem still more difficult. And *An American Dilemma* was published during the most serious months of the war. I don't know of any other country where such a thing could have happened. I think that you as Americans have much greater reasons to feel intensively proud of this study having been initiated and pursued and published in a time of national emergency than I have reasons to be proud

of having been the instrument of this will to objective self-scrutiny.

I want to stop here for a moment to remind us all of the late Dr. Frederick P. Keppel, at that time the president of the Carnegie Corporation. He was truly a great American, an open, warmhearted, generous, truth-loving human being of highest culture and greatest courage. I reckon it as one of the great fortunes in my life that for some years I was closely associated with him. He followed the study with intense interest. I know that it meant very much to him, and not only because (as he told me once in a letter after the work was finished) he had risked so much of his own reputation upon it.

On his advice I started the study, not by reading books but by traveling all around the country, in particular in the South, to see the things with my own eyes. I will confess that I got shocked and scared by all the evils I saw, and by the seriousness of the political implications of the problem. When I returned to New York I told Mr. Keppel of my deep worries. I even suggested to him that a committee be formed of a southern white, a Northern white and a Negro. In such a group we could have allowed for considerations of political expediency and worked out a basis for practical understanding, to which each one could have subscribed, since the viewpoints would have accounted for the compromises involved. But if I was scared, Keppel was not. He told me without any hesitation that I was not going to have a committee to lean upon. The facts were before me. The demand upon me was simply that I should find out the truth for myself without any side glances whatsoever as to what was politically desirable and expedient. And so this matter was settled.

Frederick Keppel read the whole manuscript as it was produced and all the earlier drafts and plans. I knew he was deeply discouraged from what he learned. He went through an ordeal as the facts were assembled and the conclusions drawn. But never once did he retreat from the position he had taken, that I was here to find out for myself the truth in the matter and to present it in unabridged form to the American public. There was never an atempt from his side to censor me. I remember that towards the very end of the enterprise, I received a letter from the State Department asking me whether they could have a copy of my manuscript. I referred the request to Mr. Keppel. We agreed that it would not necessarily imply an attempt at censorship, but Keppel meant that at that time of national emergency the handing over of the manuscript to a government agency, vested with grave responsibility, might place them under a temptation to attempt to influence me as to the presentation of the Negro problem in my book. He, therefore, advised me to decline the request, and so I did. Even in war, he said, we must preserve as a precious treasure absolute freedom from government interference in science. Even the likeness of controlling an individual man's thoughts and expressions must be avoided at all costs.

Frederick P. Keppel was a true liberal and a great American. As long as you have men like Keppel placed in commanding positions in America, this country, in spite of all shortcomngs, will be the country of freedom and progress. Such men are carrying forward the traditions of the glorious Declaration of Independence. Keppel, if he could have been with us, should have been our guest of honor.

One Conclusion

One main conclusion of my study of the Negro problem was this: that not since reconstruction have there been more reasons to anticipate fundamental changes in American race relations, changes which will involve a development toward the American ideals. I foresaw that the period of tranquility in the Negro problem, combined with slow progress, which had reigned for two generations, since the big compromise of the seventies, was drawing to a close. Under much anxiety and tensions the development would take on a more dynamic pace. I understand from the scanty information which has reached me that my prognosis is proving right. Great strides have been made and several fronts have pushed forward since I left the scene.

I am not going to speak about these new developments and the prospects for the future. I am only going to touch upon one single angle of the Negro problem in America; namely, its international aspect.

One incidental effect of the great publicity which America—acting in line with its great tradition of not concealing its sins—is constantly giving to the serious defects of its democracy in relation to the Negro minority, is that these scandalous facts are known to all the world. After the war America is getting involved in world politics on a scale never envisaged before. America has to take a leading role in world politics and has courageously accepted the challenge. It is following its great traditions and its deepest convictions when it emphatically is attempting to define its role as the defender of democracy all over the globe. And this is not a fake; it is a serious conviction of the American people. What America is constantly reaching for is more democracy at home and abroad.

But becoming a leader has serious consequences. America has until now lived an exuberant and carefree life without having to bother much about its international reputation. This is not possible any longer. None is watched so suspiciously as the one who is rising. None has so little license, none needs all his virtues so much as the leader. The world will understand that America has serious defects and grave problems, if it labors hard to reform itself. But an America, which becomes complacent and self-righteous, an America trying to conceal its sins and accommodating itself to them would lose the goodwill in the world which America is now dependent upon to a much greater extent than ever before in its history.

America has so suddenly got powerful that it is under the danger of forgetting that power without goodwill is only destructive. Sometimes when I read American newspapers and listen to individual Americans expressing their views on world politics, I am getting afraid that America might fall for this temptation. But military power cannot be substituted for goodwill. With a huge air fleet and the atomic bomb you can certainly destroy the entire globe (including America) but you cannot build up a democratic international society and world peace by means of military power. Likewise, it is, of course, an illusion that you can dominate the world by your financial power. What you need (in addition to your military and financial powers), and what you need very badly as a leader in world politics, is spiritual power, which can earn you the goodwill of all good people on earth.

And spiritual power you will have if you preserve your ardent desire to improve yourselves. I often remember the Quaker prayer: "My Lord reform all the world but make the start with poor me." An America which would set out to reconstruct half the world but left its own poor people in big cities to be housed in slums and poor Negroes and whites in the rural South in poverty and distress would not have the spiritual power it needs now more than ever. An America which would insist upon democratic elections in far-away primitive countries that have just escaped from feudal bonds, but preserved their corrupted one-party rule in the South; an America which tolerated that lynching mobs are not brought to court and allowed all sorts of infringements upon the civil rights of Negroes without trying to do its

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John Hope: Scholar and Gentleman

By W. E. B. DuBois

A review of Ridgely Torrence's recently published biography of the late John Hope by one of Dr. Hope's warmest friends

Blackstone

JOHN HOPE
June 2, 1868 – February 20, 1936

AMONG the men I have known, John Hope was probably my closest friend. We were born in the same year; we met in 1896 when we were twenty-eight years old, and our friendship lasted until his death in 1936. In a very real sense it still lasts.

Among my many unrealized literary plans was the idea of a tripartite life of John Hope, Henry Hunt, and Charles Young, three great and good men with whom I had long and intimate acquaintance. As I read *The Story of John Hope*,* I am not so sure that I should have undertaken any of these biographies. I was too near the woods in which I and they wandered to estimate the broader outlines of the forest. Certainly, in the case of Hope, my emphasis would have been different from that of Torrence, and probably for the general reader less interesting. I would have touched less heavily on the ancestry. Curiously enough, as much as we talked and confided in each other, I knew almost nothing of Hope's forebears. Among us of mingled bloods in America there are subjects we do not discuss. That poignant picture of three generations of women, whom the laws of this Christian democracy would not permit to marry the fathers of their children, would have turned my pen to flame. It is astonishing to learn how cynically Southern whites, close friends of his father, robbed the colored family; but it is a bit surprising to find thrifty and pious Scotch, equally ready to forget blood and decency. I doubt if a single member of family or friends left progeny as noble as John Hope. But I am glad that Torrence did it. I am glad that in so many other matters he dealt on aspects of Hope's life and on groups of facts which few have before this realized. The biography has involved a mass of material and long months of painstaking inquiry and devoted labor.

Racial Identity

Turning from the task of the biographer, and thinking of his subject, it is heartbreaking to remember how much

* *The Story of John Hope*. By Ridgely Torrence. New York The Macmillan Company, 1948. 398pp. $5.00.

of Hope's time and effort went to earning the right to study. It seems almost incredible to learn of a bright Negro boy actually starving to death at Brown University in the last decade of the nineteenth century; and to follow John Hope in his search to support himself in school by menial service, dogged ever by the anomaly of his white face. Torrence does not overemphasize, as many have done, this contradiction of appearance and racial identity.

There was nothing extraordinary in Hope's being a Negro. He did not consciously choose to be a Negro. He was a Negro. Because being a Negro, or a German, or a Chinese is primarily a matter of friends, surroundings, habits of life; and not merely a question of appearance or biology. For a boy raised to regard himself as colored; to have colored relatives, friends, and neighbors; always to have been taught to look upon "whites" as mainly belonging to an alien, antagonistic body of human beings, for such a boy to desert his folk even in spirit and loyalty, much less in physical withdrawal, would have been more unnatural than to remain true to his race despite appearance. To white people, naturally a course of action, thus natural and expected, seemed inexplicable, if not Quixotic. We, within the Veil, see analogous phenomena in reverse: obviously negroid folk who by action and choice are white.

The life of John Hope fell into five distinctly marked parts: his childhood and youth in Augusta, Georgia—a period so marked that a standing student joke used to be Hope's "When I was in Augusta . . .;" his New England education; his teaching at Nashville; his long service at Morehouse College; his presidency of Atlanta University. In this biography the Augusta life is very completely covered. His school experience at Groton and Brown is well done, with much new information sensed but not known. To think of a man as popular and well-bred as Hope never being invited to join a fraternity. What insufferable little snobs these hypocritical New Englanders were. At nearly the same time I was at Harvard, but, of course, as an outspoken fighter of white folk I was scarcely even aware that there were any fraternities; I was more interested in scholastic philosophy. Hope was a genial, kind-hearted gentleman—what difference did that make?

Again, the decision of Hope to go South to work was quite natural. Where else would a man normally choose to work save among his own? The little college where he began his teaching career, I knew well; often I had visited its lovely campus, some six or eight years before Hope went there. It was a mission school, well-run, but poverty stricken, with no prospects of real help. It died eventually after long, cruel years of suffering. It was fortunate that Hopes' loyalty did not keep him there.

His Real Life

The real life of John Hope was at Morehouse College in the years from 1898 to 1929. I went to Atlanta in 1896, and from then until 1910, Hope and I were weekly, often daily companions. Even after I left for New York in 1910, we corresponded often and met two or three times a year. These were the high years in the lives of both of us; years of dreams and adventure, of experimenting and daring. We were foils for each other—Hope with his deliberation, his sympathy, his human insight; I with my energy and hurry to get things done. Hope was painfully conscientious; he labored and sweated with his decisions in fear lest he was wronging somebody. He was shy and selfishly modest. I can sympathize with Mrs. Hope when I read how he agonized and delayed over proposing, and even when accepted, warned of how worthless a fellow she might be choosing. With us were Hugh Proctor, a bit pompous and orthodox, but effective; Dr. William Penn, who kept us all well and laughing; and George Towns, of even and kindly temper, but wide knowledge of all happenings round-about.

In the period 1910-1929, I saw the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People born and broadening, but Atlanta University, my second interest, dying from lack of funds. I saw the Money Masters supporting Tuskegee, and then turning to Morehouse. I was desperately afraid that Hope would fall completely into their net. But when he came to Harper's Ferry, to that epoch-making second meeting of the Niagara Movement, I knew that he had escaped. The merger of Morehouse, Spelman, and Atlanta into Atlanta University in 1929 had my enthusiastic support.

Chief Criticism

My chief criticism of the Torrence biography would be failure entirely to grasp the meaning and bitter problems of the life of John Hope from 1929 to 1936. I understand, in part, why Torrence did not emphasize this period as much as it deserved. It was a very difficult period in the world, in Atlanta, in Hope's heart. Perhaps the whole story can never be told. One part, however, Torrence has stressed and that is Hope's world travel. This was a godsend for the biographer, for it documented a period when documents on many matters of high importance failed, or could not be used. His correspondence on these trips reveal a Hope which even I did not know fully. Much of his repressed inner life was poured forth here more fully than elsewhere. I touched this part of his life only once, and that was when we were together in France in 1918, just after the Armistice. We wandered together in Paris and on shattered battlefields; we planned the first Pan-African Congress.

My contacts with Hope, after my return to Atlanta in 1934, were disappointing. He was busy, terribly and inexcusably busy; he was not well. I had returned from a great tourney, to sit apart and think, and dream again as we had dreamed a quarter century before. It was not to be. I seemed scarcely to have arrived; I seemed hardly to have greeted him anew—then he was dead. I was ready to believe that if John Hope and I could have worked unhampered at Atlanta University from 1934 to this day, we might have transformed the South. Probably I was crazy. At any rate, I am very glad that so competent an artist as Ridgely Torrence has painted the picture of John Hope so faithfully, and perhaps as clearly as could be expected, so that I and all men may never forget his lineaments.

HELP CELEBRATE

The 40th Anniversary of the NAACP. Begin making preparations now for the 1949 Annual Conference.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

July 12-17, 1949

Georgetown's Little Caledonia

By E. B. Dykes Beachy

How two colored women have made themselves into indispensable clerk-experts in a Washington, D. C., gift shop

LITTLE Caledonia is a twelve-room gift shop located in two very old brick buildings in Georgetown, (oldest residential section of the District of Columbia) in the historic northwestern part of the city.

To appreciate Georgetown, one must, before all else, remember that the roots are planted deep in the history of our country. Long before there was a District of Columbia, Georgetown, organized in 1751 but not incorporated until 1781, was a thriving little village in Maryland. Once a busy inland seaport on the Potomac River and terminus of the historic Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, it was an old and comfortable town when the capital city was founded. It has, from early Colonial times, through the Revolutionary, the War of 1812, and the Civil War periods, been the center of events which played a part in the history of our nation.

Georgetown did not give up its charter of separate government until 1871 and it was not until 1895 that an Act of Congress decreed that Georgetown should constitute a part of the City of Washington.

Today the quiet residential section of Georgetown is mellow, yet modern—a place where the past and present meet to challenge your interest because the rustle of the past may still be heard amidst the bustle of the present. Georgetown has maintained a self-entity within the great capital city which entirely surrounds it.

During the depression, Miss Eleanor Wells opened a one-room antique shop at 1324 Wisconsin Avenue in Georgetown. She patterned it after a shop she had seen in Paris and called it "Little Caledonia" after the Caledonia market in Scotland. Fabrics were featured. In August, 1942, Miss Wells realized it was necessary to find larger quarters for her growing business. She and her sister purchased two very old brick buildings at 1419 Wisconsin Avenue and the antique shop was turned into a gift shop. Mrs. Evelyn Haynes Woods, a native of Hinton, West Virginia, was then her only employee. Mrs. Woods now assists with the buying and does much of the correspondence required in ordering merchandise. Soon after the move was made, Miss Wells employed Mrs. Ruth Dickenson Scott, a native of Atlantic City, N. J.

The entire shop has an Old World atmosphere and does a thriving business in the shopping center of the residential district of historic old Georgetown. There are ten rooms and two open courtyards displaying gifts, with more than twenty employees. Mrs. Woods and Mrs. Scott are the only colored women employed as sales-ladies in the shop. They have been in the employ of Miss Wells longer than any other persons on the pay roll. Because of their long years of efficient service and courteous attention, they have a following among the customers who come to the shop. Customers always request one or the other of them for service.

Mrs. Scott and her husband own their own home in Washington and they take great pride in it, their flower garden, and their fish pool. Because of her knowledge of flower and table arrangements, Mrs. Scott is often called upon for advice regarding the proper glassware to purchase.

Mrs. Woods is a widow and the mother of a nine-year-old son. Her hobbies include ceramics, interior dec-

(Continued on page 285)

McHenry

MRS. EVELYN WOODS *is the expert in the lamp department. She also gives advice and cooking hints in the herb room.*

TWENTY-FOURTH INFANTRY JOINS UP

In July Captain John J. Phillips, public information officer of the 24th U. S. Infantry mailed the NAACP two checks totaling $3,770.00 as membership fees for members of the 24th Infantry Regiment and attached units. This is the largest group membership check from the armed forces to come into the office since the war and marks a continuation of the mass-membership policy of Negro soldiers begun at that time.

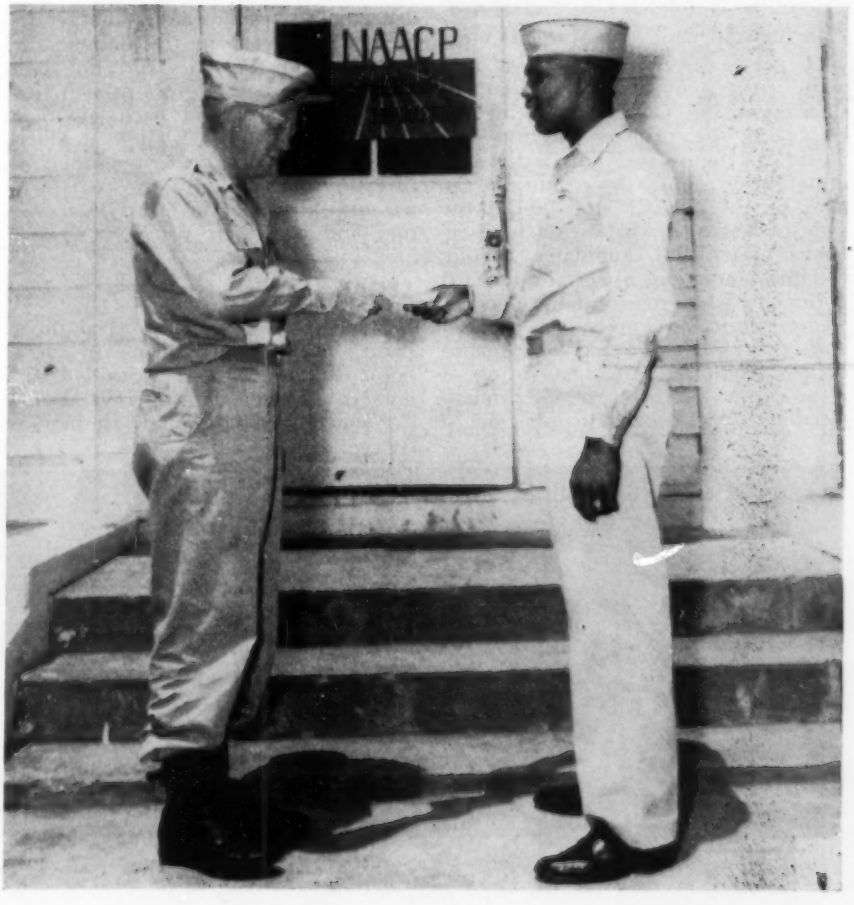
The 24th Infantry Regiment is now stationed in Gifu, Japan, and commanded by Colonel Michael E. Halloran of Oconto, Wisconsin.

Captain John J. Phillips of Lincoln Heights, Ohio, the public information officer and chairman of the campaign, announces that Company A subscribed the largest sum, $616.00, and that Captain Thomas H. Wright of 823 Clifton Drive, Dayton, Ohio, commanding officer of Company A, gave the largest individual subscription, $25.

The non-commission officers club under the leadership of Master Sergeant Harold McLeod of 1351 Florida Avenue, N. E., Washington, D. C., subscribed to a life membership of $500. Cannon Company, commanded by Captain Eldridge Carter of 4217 Outhwaite Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, had the largest per capita subscription, averaging better than $5 a man. First Lieutenant Hamilton B. Mays, of the 77th Engineers Combat Company, took out a sponsoring membership of $5.

The 24th Infantry Regiment, under the Army's integration program, is a part of the 25th Infantry (Tropic Lightning) Division commanded by Brigadier-General Everett E. Brown.

"We feel that the work of the NAACP," writes Captain Phillips in mailing us this contribution, "is making an immeasurable contribution toward the furthering of democracy in our land, and we, 'the ambassadors of democracy' in this foreign land, are glad to send our dollars to help join in the fight on the home front."



PICTURES: *The first three graders NCO club of the 24th Infantry Regiment at Camp Gifu, Japan, take out a $500 life membership in the NAACP. L to R: Capt. John J. Phillips, chairman of the drive; M/Sgt. Harold McLeod, president of the NCO club; and presenting the $500 check, T/Sgt. Benjamin N. Smith, of Landis, N. C., treasurer. Bottom: Capt. Phillips presenting a check for $3,770 to Col. Michael E. Halloran, of Oconto, Wis., commanding officer of the 24th Infantry Regiment.*

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

POLITICS

White Primary Collapses: The participation of an estimated 35,000 Negro voters in the Democratic primaries of South Carolina was hailed in August by Thurgood Marshall as "the culmination of a twenty-three-year fight by the Association to establish the right of Negro citizens to exercise their choice of political candidates."

Mr. Marshall was in South Carolina on the day of the primary election, August 10, to witness the results of the decision handed down by Federal District Judge J. Waties Waring and the U. S. Circuit Court upholding the right of Negro citizens to vote in the Democratic primary in South Carolina. Assisted by Harold Boulware of Columbia, S. C., and other NAACP attorneys, he represented Negro citizens in the cases which invalidated the "white primary" schemes of the politicians. With this development the right of Negro citizens to vote in the primaries and general elections in any state in the Union has been established.

In his statement Mr. Marshall said:

"I personally watched Negro and white citizens of South Carolina, in Charleston and Columbia, voting together in the primary election last Tuesday [August 10]. This is the culmination of a long, drawn out 23-year fight by the NAACP to establish the right of Negro citizens to exercise their choice of political candidates. Despite the dire predictions of certain die-hard politicians whose political life depended on white supremacy, we checked and re-checked and found no evidence of any friction in the first voting of Negroes in South Carolina primary elections since Reconstruction time.

Wide World

NEGROES LINE UP *at polls to receive ballots at Columbia, S. C., August 10, as members of their race vote in a South Carolina Democratic primary for the first time since 1876. They secured the franchise in the primary through a recent federal court decision.*

"Negro citizens were orderly, cleanly dressed, and acted as ladies and gentlemen. They voted in this Democratic primary and the skies did not fall. More than 35,000 Negroes participated in that primary and each of them deserves the plaudits of all good Americans for their long, patient support of litigation and the calm and cool manner in which they accepted their victory and cast their votes."

LEGAL

NAACP Files Suit: A special three-judge federal court sitting in Oklahoma City on August 23 heard NAACP lawyers ask for a decision invalidating the state's segregation laws insofar as they prohibit qualified Negroes from entering the University of Oklahoma graduate schools.

The complaint, filed in behalf of G. W. McLaurin, former Langston university teacher, seeks a preliminary injunction against the continued rejection of qualified Negro applicants by the University of Oklahoma. Mr. McLaurin is admittedly qualified in all respects and is denied admission solely because of race and color in conformity with the laws of Oklahoma and the rules of the university's board of regents. The complaint further alleges that enforcement of these statutes and rules have denied the applicant his rights guaranteed under the Constitution and laws of the United States.

DELEGATES *to the 39th annual conference of the*

Thurgood Marshall and Amos T. Hall, associated counsel, said that "this is believed to be the first time this type of relief has been sought by means of a special three-judge federal court. Under this procedure, if declared applicable, the long delays in similar suits will be circumvented. The statute specifically provides that such cases 'shall be given precedence and shall be in every way expedited and be assigned for a hearing at the earliest practicable date.' This case will be watched with interest by lawyers as well as by the general public."

Governor Frees Fugitive: Released from prison on order of Governor Alfred D. Driscoll, John Colier, 28-year-old fugitive from a South Carolina chain gang, is looking forward to a life of useful employment. Colier was freed by the governor on August 6, following intervention of the New Jersey state conference of NAACP branches, the Newark Ministers Conference, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Although the courts had rejected the pleas of J. Mercer Burrell and Abram A. Golden, Colier's attorneys, and former Governor Walter E. Edge had signed extradition papers permitting the fugitive's removal to South Carolina, Governor Driscoll released him after a public hearing.

Colier escaped from the chain gang after serving ten months of a nineteen months sentence. He had been convicted and sentenced in 1937 for the theft of a few packages of chewing gum and cigarets in Greenwood, South Carolina. In announcing his decision to release the young man, Governor Driscoll said:

"I have followed the principle which I have publicly laid down at the hearing held before me—a careful weighing of the demands of justice against the demand of the principle of comity between states.

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE *of the Oberlin, Ohio branch. Seated, L to R: Mrs. Margaret Douglas, membership chairman; Dolores Hitchins, campaign captain; Mrs. Mabel Hall, vice-president; Mrs. Faye Martin, treasurer. Standing: Mrs. Mildred Mitchell, secretary; Mrs. Lucie Rocher, campaign captain; Mrs. Marie Smith, president; and Prof. Milton Younger, Oberlin college, department of sociology and anthropology and adviser in the campaign.*

"On this basis, it has become evident to me that Colier has by this time amply paid his debt to society, to such an extent that no further sound purpose could be served by his extradition."

Defense of Ingrams: Plans for the continued defense of Mrs. Rose Lee Ingram and her two teen-age sons will be developed at a conference of lawyers called by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has charge of the case.

The decision to call the conference followed denial by the Georgia state supreme court of a petition for a rehearing of an appeal from a ruling of the trial court denying a motion for a new trial. The lawyers will explore federal grounds on which an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court may be based.

Mrs. Ingram and her sons were convicted last winter of the self-defense slaying of a white farmer near Ellaville in southwest Georgia. They were sentenced to death—a sentence which was commuted to life imprisonment after the NAACP sought a new trial for the three. The case was taken to the state supreme court, which affirmed the decision of the lower court.

Meanwhile the Ingram Defense Fund has passed the $41,000 mark as branches, churches, other organizations, and individuals continue to send in contributions. Contributors include the Golden Gate Mutual Life Insurance Co., Los Angeles. $50; Standard Industrial Life Insurance Co., New Orleans, $35; Gertrude Geddes Willis Life and Burial Insurance Co., New Orleans, $25; the Committee for Civil Rights, Brooklyn, $20; the East Side Ingram Club, Detroit, $152; and the

NAACP, held in Kansas City, Missouri, June 22-27, 1948. *Anderson*

On to California!

In 1949 the NAACP will be forty years old, and the 40th Annual Conference will meet in Los Angeles, California, beginning Tuesday, July 12 and ending Sunday, July 17.

Branches of the NAACP should begin making plans now to send delegates to this history-making 40th Annual Conference.

Begin raising a special fund to send delegates. Put this money aside so that next July your Branch will answer the roll call in Los Angeles.

Remember, the conference will be in mid-July, not June. Start your arrangements now! Remember that the 40th Anniversary of the long and brilliant fight for civil rights will be celebrated in sunny California, with the Los Angeles Branch as the main host, and all California Branches as assistant hosts.

The National Office will not announce any detailed plans before January 1, but Branches should start work without delay. Remember that you cannot plan and finance a California trip on two weeks' notice.

On to California in 1949!

Thrifty Twelve Savings Club, Akron, $12.

New Orleans Teacher Wins: The five-year fight for equalization of teachers' salaries in Louisiana was rewarded with victory when Federal District Judge Herbert W. Christenberry ruled that the prevailing salary differential based on race is unconstitutional.

In a decision handed down on July 30, Judge Christenberry signed a consent decree equalizing the salaries of white and Negro teachers in Jefferson Parish, La. The judge held that the official policy of the school board which paid lesser salaries to colored teachers than to white instructors with the same qualifications was unconstitutional "Insofar as such discriminations are predicated on race, creed, or color."

The case originated in March, 1943, when Miss Eula Mae Lee filed a complaint against the Jefferson Parish school board on her own behalf and on behalf of other teachers similarly situated. Miss Lee was discharged. A petition for a writ of mandamus to compel her re-instatement was filed in the district court of Jefferson Parish.

ASSOCIATION

Conventions Set: The schedule of annual conventions of state conference of NAACP branches has been announced by Gloster B. Current, director of branches. Eleven conventions of state bodies will be held in the late summer and early fall.

The schedule opened with the convention of the Tennessee state conference in M. Pleasant, August 26-27. Other conventions are scheduled as follows: Texas, Galveston, September 3-5; Kansas, Osawatomie, September 5-7; Ohio, Dayton, September 24-26; Maryland, Baltimore, September 25; Virginia, Staunton, October 1-3; Pennsylvania, Johnstown, October 1-3; Missouri, St. Louis, October 2-3; Illinois, Springfield, October 2-3; South Carolina, Orangeburg, October 9-11; and New York, Poughkeepsie, October 29-31.

New Life Member: Dr. D. V. Jamison, president of the National Baptist Convention, has become a life member of the NAACP. The $500 life membership was presented to Dr. Jamison by the Baptist Convention in appreciation of his long years of service and as a tangible expression of the church's support of the work of the NAACP.

What the Branches Are Doing

IOWA: In DES MOINES a sign appeared in

the window of Mae's Cozy Lunch, 1459 Keoway, reading: "No Negro Trade Solicited." The lunchroom, incidentally, is just across the street from the Good Park where Negro boys and girls play daily.

In protest against the sign, Henry T. McKnight, a member of the legal redress committee of the branch, wrote:

"The sign itself is degrading, offensive and tends to hold members of the Negro race up for public ridicule, and it is just another step toward intolerance, which I am sure you do not want to foster.

"That [the sign] should and must be removed, and if it is not removed within twenty-four hours after you receive this letter, I will be forced to take the matter up with the proper authorities to see to it that it is removed."

OHIO: The OBERLIN branch has at present 150 members and hopes to add many more.

The CINCINNATI branch reports that the July 29 police court docket included a civil-rights case involving Herbert Grooms, manager of a Woolworth five-and-ten at 4011 Hamilton avenue, and Mrs. Ruth Anderson, of Camargo Road, Maderia, Ohio. Mrs. Anderson charged, in a warrant issued by the assistant prosecutor Don Burkholder, that she was offered beverage in a paper cup whereas white customers were served in glasses.

The warrant was issued under the provision of Ohio General Code 12940, which prohibits the denial "to a citizen, except for reasons applicable alike to all citizens and regardless of color or race, the full enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges thereof" in establishments catering to the public.

Mrs. Anderson named Grooms, the manager, in the warrant after she asked the waitress for the person responsible for issuing the discriminatory order. The manager allegedly told Mrs. Anderson that he had given the order to serve colored patrons in paper cups, and that he did not care what the policy was in other Woolworth stores—"This is the policy in this store!" When Mrs. Anderson called his attention to the civil rights codes of the State of Ohio, the manager exploded: "I don't care what the law says."

The branch reports that a number of girls who made application at Bell Telephone Company during the past year have registered with the branch office and that the branch is keeping a close check on the promise of the telephone company to call them back should vacancies occur.

The Cincinnati branch also joined in with the statewide action of other branches in petitioning Governor Herbert to include state FEPC legislation in the agenda of the special session of the Ohio state legislature.

WASHINGTON: The SPOKANE branch has been accepted as a member of the Spokane Community Welfare Federation.

MICHIGAN: Edward M. Swan, executive secretary of the DETROIT branch sends in the following report on the work of his branch in the Leon Mosley case. Leon Mosley, a 15-year-old youth, was fatally shot by police officers Boland and Melasi, of the Chene street station, in June. According to reports of eyewitnesses, Mosley, who was said to have been driving a stolen car, was overtaken by the police, dragged out of the car and beaten.

SWELLING THE INGRAM DEFENSE FUND—*Three branch presidents present checks totaling $2,773.33 to NAACP secretary Walter White for the Ingram defense fund. L to R: Jawn Sandifer, New York, $1,304.69; Walter White; Genoa Washington, Chicago, Ill., $1,368.64; and R. B. Delahoussaye, New Orleans, La., $100.*

Hill

NATIONAL PANCAS *of the St. Louis, Mo., branch for 1948. Front row, L to R: Mrs. George Claxton, Birdie Anderson (first prize winner), Julia Siler, Fannie Pitts (third prize winner), Cecelia Finney (second prize winner); back row: Helen McClain, Rev. E. Hawkins, Lawrence Taylor, Peninah Elder, R. H. Freeman, Sr., Eugene Plant, Franklin Payne, Mildred Nevo, Jesse Abbington, Theodore Palmer, and John Cherry. (Not in picture: Bernice Bush, Rev. L. L. Haynes, Rev. John E. Nance, Mrs. A. N. Vaughn, and Guy S. Ruffin.*

Hill

MRS. FANNIE PITTS WINNER *in the mayoralty race receiving a plaque from Howard Woods contributed by the St. Louis, Mo., office of the* Chicago Defender. *Looking on are Mrs. Julia Siler, her campaign manager and Guy S. Ruffin, general chairman of the campaign and president of the St. Louis branch.*

Witnesses said the boy was pounded unmercifully and that as he staggered away from the scene he was deliberately shot by the police.

When city officials refused to concern themselves with the case, the Communists attempted to take over for propaganda purposes, and only when the city officials realized that their inactivity would furnish fuel for increased racial tension, would they consent to see officials from the branch.

Mr. Swan's report of what happened from this point on follows:

"This case was called to our attention by the father of Leon on Saturday, June 5, at which time the assistance of the NAACP was asked. Immediately after the case was reported to us, I personally went into the neighborhood and talked with a number of witnesses whose statements substantiated the fact that the boy had not only been shot without cause but had been brutally beaten by officers Boland and Melasi. After talking with the witnesses, I went to the boy's home, 2260 Watson, and talked with his mother, with whom he lived. (The boy's mother and father are separated). Mrs. Mosley also asked the NAACP to handle the case. I left her residence and met the father and several witnesses in the office of Atty. Elvin Wanzo who had been retained to handle the case for the family. We went from Mr. Wanzo's office to the morgue, since the family had been notified that an inquest had not been ordered, but an autopsy had been scheduled for that time. On our request, the report of the autopsy showed multiple contusions and abrasions which were later introduced in the coroner's testimony as evidence that the boy had been beaten.

"On Monday, June 7, I took a stenographer and notary public with me and secured statements from eye witnesses on which we could base our complaint. These signed, notarized statements were the basis for future action. A special board meeting was called for Monday night at which time the entire matter was presented to the board and a special committee appointed to bring about immediate action against the officers involved. This committee held its first meeting on Tuesday noon, June 8, and it was decided that because of the seriousness of the offense direct intervention by the mayor was necessary. A call was made to the mayor's office asking for a conference with him and a small delegation from this committee. The mayor refused such a conference, but indicated that he would talk with me alone, and this offer was refused because we felt that the case was too important to be handled on an individaul basis. Attempts were then made to talk with Police Commissioner Toy and it was found that he was out of town and would probably be back late the following day or early Thursday. We did not want, at that time, to discuss the question with anyone below the mayor or police commissioner. We decided to wait until Mr. Toy returned to town.

"In the meantime, however, we felt that it was a sad state of affairs that in a crisis such as this citizens could not find a responsible city official to whom to turn. With this thought in mind and also with the purpose of having the facts presented on as wide a scale as possible, appointments were made with the managing editors of the three daily papers. On Wednesday we took our information, as well as a prepared statement, to Bruce Campbell, city editor of the Detroit *Free Press;* Louis Gilmore, managing editor of the Detroit *News;* and to John Manning, managing editor of the Detroit *Times.* The full facts in the case were presented to the editors and we asked for unbiased coverage as well as a complete airing of all the facts. We also pointed out to them our inability to get action from responsible city officials. In each instance specific action was taken by the editors themselves in calling to the attention of Mayor Van Antwerp and Commissioner Toy the fact that this was a serious situation and one on which they should act immediately. This action by the press, without question, had a great deal to do with the action taken by city officials in the Mosely case.

"On Thursday, June 10, our committee met again and when it was found that Mr. Toy was still out of town, we decided to present the matter directly to the superintendent, Edwin Morgan, deputy superintendent Kennedy Lawrence, prosecuting attorney James V. McNally, assistant prosecutor Willis Ward, corporation counsel Nathaniel Golstick. The requests made by our committee were that the officers immediately be suspended, that a departmental investigation be launched by the police department in addition to the regular investigation being done for the prosecutor's office, that trial board proceedings be held immediately upon completion of the investigation, and that the prosecutor's office issue the necessary criminal warrants. This conference for the first time laid the question officially before the police department and the prosecutor's office and resulted in the promise of a speedy and thorough investigation with a full report to the prosecutor's office, on which he would take action.

"Not being satisfied with this result, we demanded a conference with Mr. Toy immediately upon his return to the city. We then called a meeting for the following morning, Friday, to discuss further action. On Friday morning, the NAACP office received a call at approximately 9:00 a.m. from the mayor's secretary saying that Mr. Toy had returned to the city and would be willing to see us immediately. This action, I am sure, was prompted by the daily papers. Since we had anticipated Mr. Toy's return and scheduled a meeting, we were able to meet with Mr. Toy within an hour.

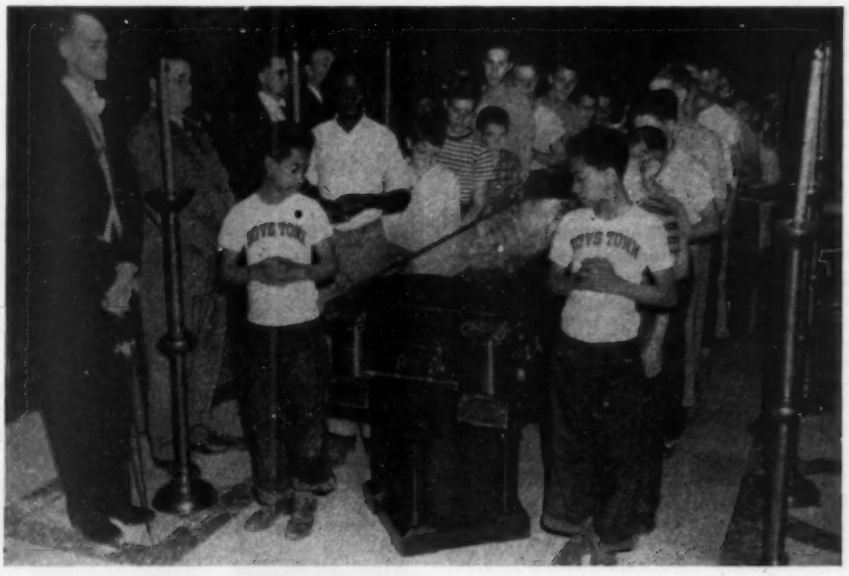
"In our meeting with Mr. Toy we made the same demands as had been made the day before to the superintendent and indicated to him that this was just not a Negro question but one in which a large section of the citizenry was interested. This was obvious to him from the persons present, and we took the further privilege of reading to him the names of organizations represented in the delegation. At the conclusion of our talk with the commisisoner, at which time we pointed out his responsibility, he called in inspector Marvin Lane and directed him in our presence to make an independent in-

vestigation for him and to present the facts as soon as possible. The commissioner also relieved the officers of duty.

"On the following morning, Saturday, June 12, inspector Lane had submitted a report to the commissioner. The officers were suspended and the prosecutor's office asked to request a coroner's inquest in the matter. As a result of this action another meeting of the cooperating organizations was called on Monday, June 14, and it was decided that we would oppose the coroner's inquest and ask Mr. McNally to immediately issue warrants against the officers. A meeting with Mr. McNally was held the following day, Tuesday, June 15, and the delegation meeting with him was similar to that which had met with Mr. Toy. The spokesman for the delegation pointed out to Mr. McNally that a coroner's inquest was not necessary, and that warrants should be issued immediately. We pointed out also that we had no confidence in the coroner's inquest and that it amounted to nothing more than an attempt to white-wash the case. Mr. McNally was adamant in his position and stated that as prosecutor he had the right of discretion and would asume full responsibility for his decision.

"Faced then with the question of having to go through a coroner's inquest we felt that we should make our position very clear to Dr. Lloyd K. Babcock, coroner of Wayne County, and on the following day, June 16, a small delegation met with Dr. Babcock at which time we stated our objections to the whole procedure and asked that he use extreme care in selecting his jury as well as to be very careful that all of the evidence in the case was introduced. We were given assurance by Dr. Babcock that he would do all in his power to see that a fair hearing was conducted. The results of the coroner's jury are well known, so we need no comment on that.

"The prosecuting attorney has issued a manslaughter warrant against officer Melasi but refused to act against officer Boland. As a result, he was immediately reinstated. The NAACP, along with cooperating groups, met with chief assistant prosecutor Gray and protested the fact that no warrant was issued against officer Boland. We are still working with the prosecutor's office to get such a warrant issued and have made formal objection to the police commissioner regarding the reinstatement of patrolman Boland without trial board action."



Press Association

A GROUP OF BOYS *files past the bier of the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Edward J. Flanagan, May 20, as his body lies in state in the chapel of Boys Town, Nebraska. The famed Catholic priest, who died in Germany, was interred May 21, in a corner of the chapel, according to his last wishes. Father Flanagan founded Boys Town in 1917.*

Dallas: In a letter to Donald Jones, southwest regional secretary, Governor Beauford H. Jester stated that "when the John Roe case was brought to my attention, I immediately asked the Texas department of public safety to make a thorough investigation and report. I am advised that the Texas Rangers are now conducting this investigation."

The governor's letter was in answer to one written him by the regional secretary, and referred to paroled prisoner John Roe, who, allegedly, was recently beaten severely and his arm broken by Tom Moore, owner of the plantation near Navasota, Texas, to which Roe was assigned upon his release. The beating, according to Roe's story, resulted when the paroled prisoner asked the "permission" of Moore to take his ailing 7-month-old child to the doctor in the nearby town. Moore refused, and when Roe insisted the beating is said to have taken place.

Escaping to Austin, John Roe presented himself to the parole board and ultimately wound up in the Brackenridge hospital, where he was treated for his wounds which included gashed lips and face suffered, he said, when Moore struck him repeatedly with the butt of

Sim's

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE COMMITTEE *of the Texas City, Texas, branch. L to R: Rev. F. M. Johnson, Mrs. Nary Johnson, Earnest Wisby, Pink Williams, president; T. H. Giles, chairman; Mrs. Anita Craddock, Louis Gardner, and Johnny Wilson.*

a pistol. Todd Lowery, member of the NAACP college chapter of the University of Texas, and two other young students, went to Moore's farm and brought away the beaten man's wife and children, whom Roe had had to desert when he fled. The woman and child are now in Austin, housed and fed by the Austin branch and the University of Texas college chapter.

Reportedly, Rangers brought Moore to Austin for questioning, and the FBI is said to also be investigating the matter. NAACP officials are likewise gathering facts in order to be able to take independent legal steps if necessary.

Bishop College: The bishop college chapter, chartered only last June, held the first in an important series of annual programs on July 29. Leaders came from all parts of Texas to engage in a discussion of civil rights.

Texas Conference: The Texas conference of NAACP branches held its annual conference this year at Galveston, September 3-5.

MISSOURI: The ST. LOUIS branch has protested vigorously against the $100,000 appropriations bill introduced into the state legislature for the construction of a jim-crow law school in St. Louis. The result was that the bill was vetoed by Governor Phil Donnelly. In the field of education, the Rev. Leonard L. Haynes, chairman of the education committee, has requested the mayor of St. Louis to appoint a Negro to the board of education to fill the vacancy left by the passing of Fred H. Beck. The *Post-Dispatch* and other organizations have joined the branch in this request. The committee is also continuing its fight for integration of Negro pupils in the public schools of the city.

Sydney R. Redmond, Jasper C. Caston, and Walter Lowe have introduced board bill #62 in the Board of Aldermen, an ordinance which would prohibit discrimination in hotels, places of amusement, and other public places in the city of St. Louis.

Joseph

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE IN CORDORNICES VILLAGE—*Attractive Mrs. Lois Carter, wife of Roy Carter, membership chairman of the Cordornices Village, Calif., branch drive, is pinning a membership button on one of the subscribers to the cause. Seated is Mrs. Gussie Craft, a volunteer worker, with Mr. Carter standing directly behind her. Interested bystanders awaiting their turn to take out memberships are Frank Qualleck, holding his daughter; Q. Martin, C. Gardner, H. Craft, and T. Lawson. Cordornices Village is a thickly populated project housing many people of all races.*

Book Reviews

SOCIOLOGICAL TREATISE

***Caste, Class, And Race: A Study In Social Dynamics.* By Oliver C. Cox. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1947. pp. XXXVIII+624. $7.50.**

The published works on the subjects of caste, class, and race have usually been concerned with one particular concept, or treated these abstractions merely as parts of a larger subject. In this volume, Oliver C. Cox has produced in a single work a rounded analysis of caste, class, and race. Although his treatment is academic, his style of writing has resulted in a readable and easy to digest volume. Mr. Cox professes an avowedly Marxian approach in this study, but upon examination one finds that he applies Marxianism principally to his study of capitalism and the development of race relations. It will help the reader to evaluate and judge this work more objectively if he keeps in mind the author's statement: "If, therefore, parts of this study seem Marxian, it is not because we have taken the ideas of this justly famous writer as gospel, but because we have not discovered any other that could explain the facts so consistently." He is under no illusion about his own "value premise."

In the first of three major parts into which the work is divided, caste is thoroughly examined but never defined. Rather, the author's main concern, realizing the limitations of definitions, has been to characterize caste and to explain it almost wholly in terms as it is endemic to India. The result has been one of the most consummate and reliable discussions of caste anywhere to be found.

The analysis of class is an incisive and comprehensive treatment that parallels the more familiar understanding of class, as a "social category" in a societal structure, with a thorough interpretation of class from a political standpoint. The ramifications of class in a capitalistic system are positively stated and its function in connection with the church in general and the Catholic Church in particular, as well as its role in a democracy, are sharply defined and criticized. The writer's method of referring critically to what some leading social scientists, like Marx, Engels, Weber, Sombart, MacIver, Ogburn and others, have said about class has produced some very laudable and fruitful results.

The study of race is approached with the belief that as yet "there is no universally accepted definition of race." That for the sociologist, "a race may be thought of as simply any group of people that is generally believed to be, and generally accepted as, a race in any given area of ethnic competition." The subsequent discussion of ethnic groups gives an incisive survey of race relations, including a comparison of caste, class, and race; a criticism of some important assertions made by individuals such as Robert E. Park and Ruth Benedict on these concepts, and a critique of the modern caste-school of race relations.

In *Caste, Class, and Race* is to be found one of the ablest interpretations of *An American Dilemma*, by Gunnar Myrdal, yet to be found. Cox, like some others who have closely examined this classic on the race problem in the United States, considers Myrdal as being too mystical in his treatment, of relying too heavily on the moral or ethical basis as a cause of contemporary conditions. Cox feels that "Clearly this is an escape from the realities of the social system, inexcusable in the modern social scientist"; however, he gives full credit to the volume "as a source of information and brilliant interpretation of information on race relations in the United States."

WRITERS

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Joseph

THE REV. H. W. WATSON, *progressive pastor of the New Hope Baptist church, Oakland, Calif., took time out from his regular services on a recent Sunday and personally directed the membership drive of the Alameda county branch. He turned over* $145 *in memberships. L to R: Charles R. Morris, head of the deacon board; the Rev. H. W. Watson, pastor; Aramis Fouche, of the Hudson Funeral Home, chairman of the church membership campaign; and Henry Johnson, executive secretary of the Alameda county branch.*

Cox criticizes the capitalistic system of Western society; but being partial to the Marxian school of thought, he has occasionally skewed his own vision. At times he even makes confusing statements like the following:

> Socialism, the system of democracy, is not simply capitalism without individualism; it is rather a distinct social system in which bourgeois individualism does not function. In a democracy one cannot "spend" his individualism because it is not one of the values of democracy. . . . Those who desire individualism with the abolishment of capitalism are not socialists but anarchists, and consequently unpredictable utopians.

Or again, in speaking about segregation, "It would be ridiculous for the Chinese to say that they are prejudiced against whites when Europeans segregate the Chinese even in China."

But these moments of confusion seem to reach a peak in the author's discussion of political-class, which he views as "a product of modern capitalistic society. But we may repeat that fully developed social-class systems are also unknown to ancient society; they came into their own only after 1789." Throughout the history of mankind there has always been some kind of status structure, and ancient society is well known for its highly developed class hierarchy.

Yet this occasionally blurred thinking is rare and does not detract from the significance of the study. The author defines the capitalistic structure as a "social system based upon free enterprise . . . for private profit." But

> The private profit system has not been able to provide either men or resources. The private profit system produces the wrong kind of people. It conditions people; it teaches people to be predatory; it puts the emphasis on and it nurses and encourages the worst aspect of what is called "human nature"—the calculating kind of selfishness and acquisitiveness which gets in the way of the kind of life that we ought to be able to lead.

Speaking of revolutionary change in capitalism, he minces no words: "It must be obvious that the purpose of revolution is not to 'throw the system out of gear.' It is to overthrow the entire system, to overthrow a ruling class." He continues, "and the cost of revolution did not frighten the capitalists when it became their lot to overthrow feudalists."

Cox condemns religion because "it has a vested interest in things as they are and it will fight to protect this." He criticizes labor especially the AF of L, for its "business unionism which may be justly called 'labor cannibalism.'"

His acuity is at its best in his analysis of race relations in the United States. Since so many of the underlying factors are economic, and the materialistic approach is Cox's springboard for this volume, he consequently is able to interpret with some logic and validity the conditions of Negro-white relations in the United States. He sees the race problem as primarily "the short-run manifestations of opposition between an abiding urge among Negroes to assimilate and a more or less unmodifiable decision among racially articulate, nationalistic whites that they should not."

Cox has given attention to the intra-group conflict that confronts Negroes in trying to work out solutions to their situation. He finds that there are two principal ideas of racial policy which seems to divide the allegiance of Negroes: one, that "Negroes should stick together," and the other, that "Negroes should shift for themselves individually, since the individual can advance more easily than the group as a whole." He finds that these two plans are correlated.

On leadership for Negroes: Negroes "will not have a 'great leader' because they do not want him." He flatly states that the destiny of Negroes is "cultural and biological integration and fusion with the larger American society." Frankly, he says, "A great leader of Negroes will almost certainly be a white man, but he will be the leader of the white masses of this nation." Of course, whether the white common man will be permitted to recognize him or not, this white leader will eventually prove to be the emancipator of the poor whites of the South.

Oliver C. Cox has produced a volume which some will say he used as a sounding board for advocating his own personal political, economic, and social beliefs. Others will not like it because he comments boldly on things unpalatable to the American conscience. Yet read and considered objectively, it must be admitted that he has done a job of intellectual appraisal of the abstractions of caste, class, and race—three factors of momentous importance for the realities of the times—which unquestioningly exhibits erudition, analytical ability, and allegiance to a principle. By any honest and scholarly standard *Caste, Class, and Race* is a volume of major importance.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

DR. MARTIN D. JENKINS, *specialist in educational surveys and president-elect of Morgan State college, shown conferring with Kelly M. Alexander, executive secretary of the Charlotte, N. C., branch on a survey sponsored by the branch to determine what inequalities exist in the Charlotte schools.*

BRAZILIAN LITERATURE

***Marvelous Journey: A Survey of Four Centuries of Brazilian Writing.* By Samuel Putnam. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. XVI+269+XIIpp. $4.00.**

Mr. Putnam is one of the best-informed American students of Brazilian letters. There is probably no other American who is better fitted to give American readers an idea of what Brazilian literature is like. He has been an exchange professor in Brazil, is a translator of Euclydes da Cunha, Gilberto Freyre, and Jorge Amado, and has edited since 1935 the section on Brazilian literature in the *Handbook of Latin American Studies.*

OUT OCTOBER 4

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Marvelous Journey, and I am not forgetting Erico Veríssimo's slim informal volume, is the first comprehensive study to appear in English since the late Dr. Isaac Goldberg's *Brazilian Literature*, issued by the same publisher twenty-six years ago. Not only are studies of Brazilian letters scarce in English, but the Brazilian literature now available in translation would hardly fill one of Dr. Eliot's five-foot bookshelves. This is all the more striking when we remark that not a single Brazilian author of "literary importance had appeared in English translation in this country before 1920."

And there are all sorts of contradictions and anomalies in this. We waited forty-two years for a translation of *Rebellion in the Backlands*, a book which our author calls "one of the most remarkable ever written." We waited thirty-six years for Azevedo's *A Brazilian Tenement*, and we are still waiting for his *The Mulatto* (1881), in many respects a much more significant book. We waited thirteen years for Freyre's provocative *The Masters and the Slaves*, and its equally illuminating sequel, *Town Houses and Shacks* (1936), is still in Portuguese.

Why is this? The factors are many but the more obvious ones are our cultural isolationism, our general attitude of condescension toward all Latin American intellectual activity, the barrier of language, the factor of distance, and difference in race and culture. Unquestionably these are important; they are probably basic. But then there is our deeply rooted dislike of *mestizo* peoples; in a word, our race prejudice, and Mr. Putnam leaves this out of the picture.

Brazilians are a *mestizo* people and their large mulatto element has tremendously enriched Brazilian culture. Freyre even asserts that, psychologically, being Brazilian is being mulatto. Some of Brazil's greatest writers are mulattoes. I shall mention just a few: Machado de Assis, "the greatest of Latin American novelists"; Cruz e Sousa, her major modern poet; Gonçalves Dias, "one of the greatest poets that Brazil has produced"; Lima Barreto, novelist; Basilio de Gama, author of the epic *Uruguay*; Tobias Barreto, Brazil's most original thinker; Farias Brito, the philosopher; "and," to quote Joao Dornas Filho, "hundreds of other Brazilians whose great mental capacity has brought resounding fame to Brazil, their renown reaching out even beyond their native shores."

Marvelous Journey is an outline history presenting the subject of Brazilian literature in broad perspective, giving its racial and traditional background and its various phases from the sixteenth century to the present. Mr. Putnam approaches his material through the significant writers of each phase, drawing parallels where possible with their contemporaries in American or European letters. Where a writer is especially important, he goes into extended analysis of his character and works, as with Machado de Assis, Castro Alves, Gonçalves Diaz, Cruz e Sousa, *et al.*

Snatches from poems of representative writers are sometimes given in translation, but I doubt if they help the reader much in appraising a writer. The *pasticci* on page 130, for example, from Castro Alves' "Youth and Death" is only a fractional part of the poem

and hardly representative. In fact, the general inaccessibility of Brazilian works in translation really makes impossible any evaluations by the reader, and so he is forced to take Mr. Putnam's word for a lot of things.

A reader, for example, cannot know that many informed Brazilians would not agree with Mr. Putnam's statement (p. 113) that the Indianism of Gonçalves Dias "was deeply rooted and sincere." They see it merely as a mask to hide his chagrin at being mulatto. A reader likewise cannot know that Aluízio Azevedo's *The Mulatto* is not just a novel of the "old problem of miscegenation" in the American manner. It is primarily a study in class prejudice, race being incidental, since objection to the marriage of the protagonist. Dr. Raimundo da Silva, to his cousin Anna Rosa is provoked much less by color, as an American might expect, than by objection to da Silva's servile origin. "A Negro freed at the baptismal font cannot aspire to the hand of a rich white lady," explains the family priest Diogo de Melo to da Silva.

I notice too that our author repeats the legend (p. 10) about Princess Isabel's asking the Negro engineer André Rebouças to dance with her after he has been refused by other ladies of the court of Dom Pedro II. This legend, quoted in both Pierson and Calmon, is, however, denied by Rebouças himself. Both Rebouças' letter of denial as well as a discussion of the story are to be found in Ignacio José Verissimo's *André Rebouças Através de Sua Auto-Biografia* (André Rebouças as Mirrored in his Autobiography, pp. 256-7). In commenting on the legend, Verissimo points out that Rebouças, because of his breadth of knowledge and culture, as well as his conversational abilities, was a natural born and eagerly sought after *homem de salao*.

And on page 223 of "Notes" there is a statement that the *Brazilian Short Stories* of Monteiro Lobato published in the Haldeman Julius' "Little Blue Book Series" (No. 733) was translated by Isaac Goldberg. But according to Goldberg in his preface to the booklet, the tales were translated by an American woman friend of Lobato's then resident in Brazil.

Before concluding, I must make reference, since Mr. Putnam does not mention the book, to Monteiro Lobato's uproariously funny satirical novel, *O Choque das Raças ou O Presidente Negro: Romance Americano do Anno 2228* (Race Conflict or the Negro President: An American Novel of the Year 2228). This amusing novel (1926) antedated by five years Mr. Schuyler's *Black No More* with a similar theme, except that in Sr. Lobato's novel not only do the Negroes discover a process to whiten themselves but they also manage to elect a Negro, Jim Roy, as the 88th president of the United States.

Marvelous Journey, despite its lacunae and frequent digressions, is a sympathetic study of a great literature that is all but unknown in this country.

J. W. I.

ANOTHER SURVEY BOOK

Survey of Labor Economics. By Florence Peterson. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. XV+843 pp. $4.00.

The serious reader already acquainted with labor problems will find in this volume a great deal of valuable factual material and theoretical analysis on all major aspects of labor economics. But this is not the audience to which the author has addressed herself; she asserts that this is a "text . . . intended for a survey course." As such, while it is not a bad one, its defects certainly do not make it a fit substitute for standard older works, such as Daugherty's *Labor Problems in American Industry*. To begin with, she frequently assumes previous knowledge of the subject on the part of the reader—a distinct handicap in any text for a survey course. A portion of this shortcoming is undoubtedly due to a determination at least to mention everything pertinent, even where there is insufficient space to explain. As a result we find such anomalies as a discussion of "individual equity" versus "social adequacy" in social security without any definition of either term.

Contrary to the publisher's assertion on the jacket, the reader will not find this to be "the definitive volume on labor economics," unless one considers that subject complete without a discussion of John L. Lewis (or William Green or Philip Murray) and his influence in the American labor movement, the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, or such important court cases as *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, *Ogden v. Utah*, *Opp Cotton Mills v. U. S.*, or, for that matter, the Jones and Laughlin case which established the validity of the interstate jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board and paved the way to later sweeping Federal legislation, although a number of less pivotal

Negro Year Book 1947

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cases are cited. Among names which do not appear in the index are those of Frances Perkins, the aforesaid William Green and John L. Lewis, Eugene V. Debs, and Justice Louis Brandeis, to name only a few generally associated with important aspects of labor problems.

It is perhaps not Miss Peterson's fault that the time she chose for publication found labor in a state of flux, but the effect is none the less damaging. Consequently, her advantage over older texts—that of timeliness—has largely been dissipated. For example, since the preparation of her manuscript, the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law has rendered obsolete the National Labor Relations Act, which is reproduced in full in the appendix to the volume.

On the subject of racial discrimination in American employment and labor organizations, Miss Peterson is brief, vague, and uncritical. While she observes that the Negro is discriminated against by labor and employers, she makes no real analysis of this problem. She seems far more willing than this reviewer to accept at face value lip service to racial equality on the part of the American Federation of Labor and other labor groups. At no point does she make clear the undesirability of the jim crow local—she merely mentions its existence and passes on. Also, as indicated above, she by-passes government attempts to combat discrimination through such agencies as the wartime President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, leaving the reader with no constructive suggestions for improvement.

In brief, *Survey of Labor Economics* offers little that may not be found in other standard texts; its statistics are more abundant and up-to-date, but its deficiencies make it unlikely to pre-empt the field.

MABEL M. SMYTHE

HAITIAN PROBLEMS

Dessalines a Parlé. Par Dantès Bellegarde. Port-au-Prince: Société d'Edition et de Librairie, 1948. 424pp.

Dessalines Has Spoken extends, in a sense, the author's discussion of Haitian problems begun in *Haiti and Her Problems* (1941). Although the book is made up of articles reprinted (for the period September 1946-November 1947) from the Port-au-Prince daily *La Phalange*, much of it has already been printed in the previously mentioned *Haiti and Her Problems*. The chapter entitled "Mystic Mentality and Superstitions: An Englishwoman Visitor," in *Haiti and Her Problems* (p. 91 et seq.), is used almost word for word in *Dessalines Has Spoken*, but under a new title, "Haiti: A Civilized Nation." "The Haitian Nation," of *Haiti and Her Problems* (p. 37 et seq.), gets an interrogative title, "What is the Haitian Nation?" in *Dessalines Has Spoken*, yet the text is the same.

An author has a perfect right to quote himself, but M. Bellegarde does not tell his readers that in these two chapters he is a self-plagiarist from one of his previous books. I notice too that possibly two-thirds of *Dessalines Has Spoken* is quoted matter (with the inverted commas, of course) from the author's previous writings, either epistolary or published. In fact M. Bellegarde seems now to have reached a point where each new book, if it has to do with *Haiti et ses problèmes*, is simply a rewrite of his last. This makes it easy to follow his ideas, since you know already what he thinks about these things.

Among the topics discussed in M. Bellegarde's lucid style are Pan-Americanism, domestic and international politics, the American occupation of his country, color prejudice, diplomacy, religion, education, Vodun, and economics. His outlook is that of the Haitian Creole proverb: "There's a remedy for everything, save death" *(Gain riméde pou toutt bagaille, excepté lan mô)*.

"Present-day enemies of the Haitian people," he explains, "are ignorance, superstition, poverty, and disease." Another enemy is the twin prejudice of color and locale. The mulattoes dislike the blacks and the Northerners suspect the Westerners. "We seem to cultivate," he chides, "dissimulation, hypocrisy, duplicity and flattery—dubbed the beribboned lie—as especially useful qualities in politics. Thus creating around us a heavily charged atmosphere of distrust, slander, and bluff. And the habit of tricking oneself out in the other fellow's thought has become such a commonplace among us that many people have now reached the place where they will lie for no good reason at all—they have made an art of it." M. Bellegarde says that this is the main reason why the Haitian imagines himself a born diplomat.

Many Haitians likewise mistake brutality and arrogance for frankness, and deceit and duplicity for diplomacy. "I know Haitians," he continues, "who have won for themselves a great reputation for independence simply because they insulted Woodrow Wilson, Hoover, Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, Sumner Wells, and Spruille Braden in some obscure sheet that nobody ever reads."

As for those people who want Haitians to go back to Africa, he writes: "We do not deny our African origin, but neither can we renounce our French culture. We do not wish to, and we cannot if we would."

"Vodun," he observes, "is a legitimate object of study for scholars, Haitian or foreign, seeking the explanation of facts without regard to their social or moral implications. It cannot be an object of faith for the Haitian people, the majority of whom have attained a mental development which no longer permits them to believe that the eternal verities are to be found in a 'hash of legends,' childish fables, and an absurd cosmogony created by the puerile imaginations of our primitive African ancestors, anymore than present-day Frenchmen can be expected to return to the druidic traditions of Ancient Gaul because of the survival of certain pagan beliefs and customs among isolated French groups. The error of many foreign as well as Haitian authors is in believing that Vodun is an exceptional religion peculiar to Negroes and their descendants—a singular product of the black race."

The book takes its title, *Dessalines Has Spoken*, from an article which appeared in the April 8, 1947, issue of *La Phalange* discussing Haitian reaction to M. Bellegarde's statement, made to a reporter for the French *l'Intransigeant*, that the Haitians preferred to be called *Blacks*. Immediately there was a flood of criticism from Haitians. They said Bellegarde had "betrayed the race." "But what the patriots did not know was that my use of the word *black* in preference to *Negro* was directly inspired by Dessalines." Article 14 of the imperial Constitution of 1805 says in effect that Haitians, regardless of their color, are to be known by "the generic name of blacks." So by the Dessalinean definition all Haitians are black.

A reading of M. Bellegarde should remove much of the semi-superstitious misinformation circulated in the States about Haiti and the Haitians.

J. W. I.

IN BRIEF

***I Have Lived With the American People.* By Manuel Buaken. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1948. 358pp. $4.00.**

Drawn by the stories he heard of American wealth and democracy, Manuel Buaken left his native Philippines for the broader opportunities offered by America. What he found, however, upon his arrival in California was a wealth of race prejudice. Filipinos were restricted to menial jobs, accused of dishonesty without evidence, victimized by prostitutes and then accused of immorality, and forbidden by California law to marry white girls. What our author has to tell about the prejudices directed at his people, even when honest, respectable and law-abiding, is all too familiar to American Negroes. It took the war to make them overnight into men and heroes, a transformation as puzzling to them as the previous hate. A book worth looking into for its story of American treatment of continental Filipinos. Main fault of the book is our author's failure to weave his historical and social material into his personal narrative.

***So Thin Is the Veil.* A Novel. By Delmar E. Bordeaux. Rockford, Illinois: Bellevue Books, 1948. 192pp. $2.50.**

Although the basic elements of this melodrama—a beautiful Mississippi white woman, her husband, who is having an affair with a Negro woman, two innocent Negro boys accused of murder, a burly, virile Negro farmhand, and Freudian desires—offer effective material for a provocative story, what we really get is not a novel but a far from convincing racial tract. Leonard Aegerson kills the husband of his paramour and then frames two Negro boys and gets them hanged for his crime. His wife Merle out of revenge for Leonard's affair with the Negro woman gives herself to their Negro farmhand Monk, who has always aroused her concupiscence, and then taunts her husband about her infidelity. She then has to kill him to save Monk's life. The book was written by a Southerner.

***The Negro in America.* By Arnold Rose. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. XVII+325pp. $3.75.**

This is a condensation of Dr. Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* done by the author with the assistance of Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose and originally published in 1944. The reader who does not have access to the original will find this a valuable summary of Dr. Myrdal's classic study of the American Negro problem. Despite the many critics of the book, both on the left and the right, it remains one of the most comprehensive surveys of the American Negro in print.

McHenry

MRS. RUTH SCOTT *as the expert in flower and table arrangement is often called upon for advice in the purchase of glassware.*

Little Caledonia

(*Continued from page* 272)

orating, and herb lore. Because of her work in the lamp department, she is often called upon for advice in interior decorating, and, having specialized in home economics in school, she often gives cooking hints in the herb room.

Some of the most prominent and best known people in Washington are regular customers of Little Caledonia. Hundreds of people wander weekly from one room to the other through the two enclosed court-yards, and from one building to the other, wondering "what" they will see next, most of them commenting that it "is the most unusual shop they ever saw."

Through their many years of service, Mrs. Woods and Mrs. Scott are recognized as important cogs in Little Caledonia. They are agreeable and get along well with their co-workers. Both Mrs. Woods and Mrs. Scott say the years have rushed by in a constant whirl of activity. There is no monotony, always new problems and new ideas in the ever-changing picture.

Covenant Decision

(*Continued from page* 266)

dire social ills that flow from residential segregation. Never have spokesmen for so many people proclaimed the evil of any single aspect of the jim-crow system. The Supreme Court decision is only a tool for an attack on that evil. The manner in which the tool is used depends on those in whose hands it has been thrust. That tool will not avail us much if we retire it to the trophy room of legal victories. It can be a potent weapon in our long quest for first class citizenship only if we use it skillfully and with determination.

American Paradox

(*Continued from page* 269)

very best to reform itself would not have the spiritual power. A self-righteous, complacent and power-drunk America which would stop worrying about its own sins, would in the present juncture of world history mean disaster for itself and for all the world. But a development towards internal reactions and external imperialism will always have its most ardent opponents in America itself.

Conspicuous Scandal

The treatment of the Negro people is America's greatest and most conspicuous scandal. It is tremendously publicized and democratic America will continue to publicize it herself. For the colored people all over the world whose rising influence is axiomatic this scandal is salt in their wounds. In all white nations which, because of the accident of ethnic homogeneity or for ideological reasons have not been inculcated with race prejudices, the color of the victim does not provide any excuse. It can be foreseen with certainty that world politics will increasingly be concerned in the future with the demands for equality raised by the underprivileged colored peoples in the world which are the great majority and which will have the support of many in the privileged nations. Ten years from now the problems which at present have pressing actuality in world politics will have disappeared or changed into this quite new constellation. The Negro problem shall then acquire its truly crucial international implications for America as a world power.

It is my present duty to labor with a set of apparently very different problems, the problems of attempting to prepare the soil for an all European cooperation. When I am traveling in the east and in the west of this poor, scared and seriously split and demoralized continent, Europe, I am, however, always reminded of what I learned during the study of race relations in America. The problem of the human tragedy in its various different manifestations, in essence very much the same. Individuals, groups, and nations build up tremendous structures of false beliefs about each other in order to defend themselves unto the world, and more fundamentally, unto their own conscience. They shrink from the willingness to take the consequences of brotherly love, of human understanding, and of accepting each other as equals. If you will permit me, I will close this talk with a quotation from the last page of my study where I allowed myself a personal note—which is an expression of my faith as a social scientist:

> Studying human beings and their behavior is not discouraging. When the author recalls the long gallery of persons whom, in the course of this inquiry, he has come to know with the impetuous but temporary intimacy of the stranger—sharecroppers and plantation owners, workers and employers, merchants and bankers, intellectuals, preachers, organization leaders, political bosses, gangsters, black and white, men and women, young and old, Southerners and Northerners—the general observation retained is the following: Behind all outward dissimilarities, behind their contradictory valuations, rationalizations, vested interests, group allegiances and animosities, behind fears and defense constructions, behind the role they play in life and the mask they wear, people are all much alike on a fundamental level. And they are all good people. They want to be rational and just. They all plead to their conscience that they meant well even when things went wrong.
>
> Social study is concerned with explaining why all these potentially and intentionally good people so often make life a hell for themselves and each other when they live together, whether in a family, a community, a nation or a world. The fault is certainly not with becoming organized per se. In their formal organizations, as we have seen, people invest their highest ideals. These institutions regularly direct the individual toward more cooperation and justice than he would be inclined to observe as an isolated private person. The fault is, rather, that our structures of organizations are too imperfect, each by itself, and badly integrated into a social whole.
>
> The rationalism and moralism which is the driving force behind social study, whether we admit or not, is the faith that institutions can be improved and strengthened and that people are good enough to live a happier life. With all we know today, there should be the possibility to build a nation and a world where people's great propensities for sympathy and cooperation would not be so thwarted.
>
> To find the practical formulas for the never-ending reconstruction of society is the supreme task of social science.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

ARKANSAS

W. Harold Flowers
Masonic Temple, Pine Bluff
Telephone: 919

J. R. Booker
Century Building, Little Rock
Telephone: 2-4248

CALIFORNIA

Geo. R. Vaughns
1027 Adeline St., Oakland 7
Telephone: TWinoaks 9688

Mathews & Williams
Charles H. Matthews — David W. Williams
2510 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 11
Telephone: ADams 1-9739—ADams 1-6712

James T. Phillips
33 W. Mountain St., Pasadena 3
Telephone: Sycamore 7-4124

John C. Henderson
1557 — 7th St., Oakland 7
Telephone: TWinoaks 5338

CONNECTICUT

W. Arvey Wood
36 Park Row, Stamford
Telephone: Stamford 3-7037

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

T. Douglas Davidson
1226 You St., N. W., Washington 9
Telephones: ADams 8497 & DEcatur 1280

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428 Herndon Bldg., Atlanta 3
Telephone: Walnut 3536

Thomas J. Henry
208 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta
Telephone: Lamar 4710

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Telephone: CALumet 4968—4969

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Telephone: 2-8143

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Telephone: Jackson 6646 & Wabash 4765

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Telephone: Terrace 2-1934

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139 Cadillac Sq., Detroit 26
Telephone: Cadillac 2176

Floyd H. Skinner
Michigan at Monroe Ave., Grand Rapids 2
Telephone: 8-9042 or 8-6795

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Telephone: MArket 3-4709

Logan W. McWilson
189-191 Halsey St., Newark 2
Telephone: MArket 3-1779

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Telephone: ACademy 2-9260

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Telephone: WAdsworth 6-9207
and
84 Altona, St. Thomas
Charlotte Amalie,
V. I., U. S. A.

OHIO

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2270 East 55th St., Cleveland 3
Telephone: EXpress 3712-3713

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120 Hamilton Ave., Columbus 3

Harry E. Davis
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Telephone: MAin 1320

Chester K. Gillespie
406 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland 14
Telephone: CHerry 1835

Artee Fleming
22 W. Market St., Akron 8
Telephone: HEmlock 6946

PENNSYLVANIA

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908 Walnut St., Philadelphia 7
Telephone: Walnut 2-1042

Theodore Spaulding
154 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 2
Telephone: LOcust 1317

TEXAS

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711 Prairie Ave., Houston 2
Office: F4895 Home: F0853

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Telephone: 9751

Willmer F. Dillard
330 Gilmer Ave., N. W.
Roanoke 17
Telephone: 2-2608

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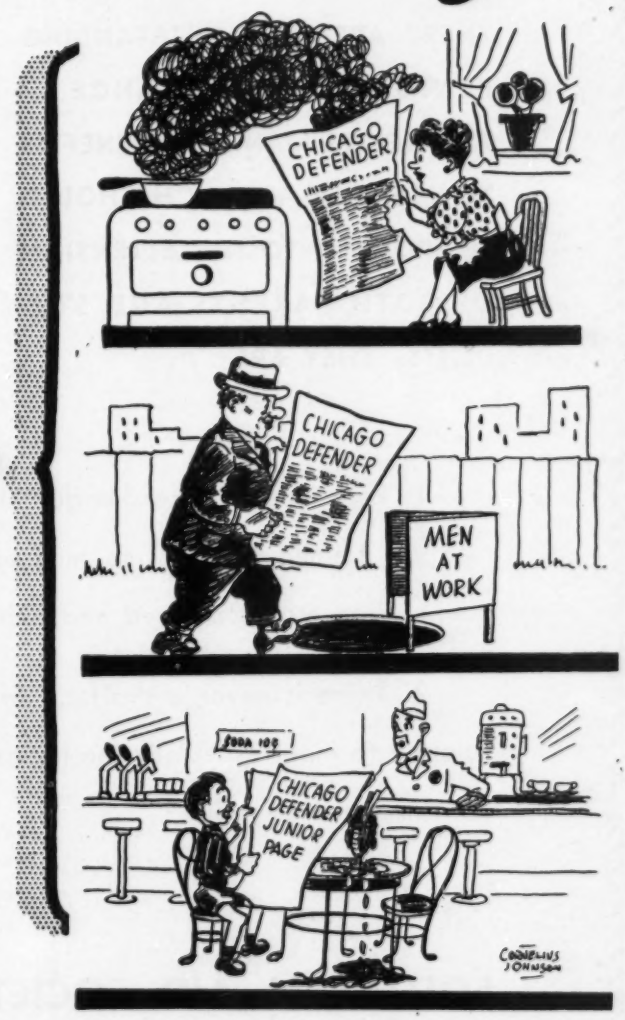

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